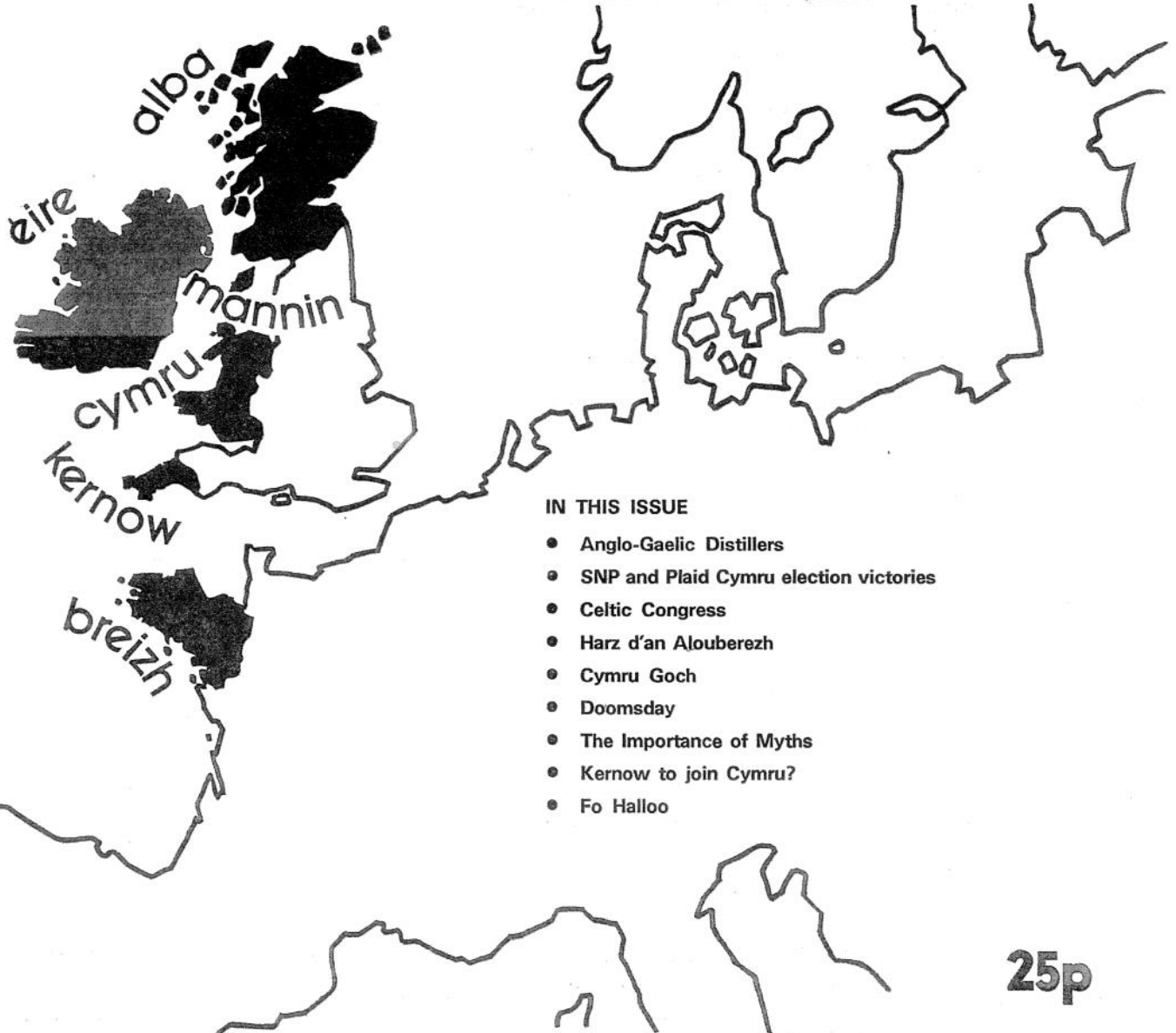


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Fómhar
1974
No. 7

A LINK BETWEEN THE CELTIC NATIONS



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25p

QUARTERLY PERIODICAL IN ENGLISH & IN CELTIC LANGUAGES
PUBLISHED BY THE "CELTIC LEAGUE"

The imperialists and the self-yclept Stalinists who speak (for their own propagandist purposes) of a decline in nationalism have been discomfited by the election results and by the strength and victories of Plaid Cymru and the SNP.

But while we celebrate these achievements let us be wary of another imperialist trick — the trick of federalism. There are no 'British' in England; the concept is confined to her 'possessions', and her propagandists. A federation of the 'British Isles' as now being urged not only ignores Breizh (and is therefore repugnant to us) but it is also merely an attempt to delay independence and buy time for the ailing English empire.

If as cynical an observer as 'Backbencher' in the *Irish Times* (28/9/1974) could forecast or at least indicate the possibilities of a Celtic liason, it behoves those of us who have urged this, on national and ideological basis, for decades, to ensure that our victories are not misused or lost in Westminster planned culs-de-sac.

Cross-Border Facilities Ltd.

Dr Guy Caro, left wing general councillor for the Cotes-du-Nord, Brittany, and Melle Fournier Le Ray, teacher in Ille-et-Vilaine, were held up on arriving from Le Havre in Ros Láir, on July 24. According to Dr Caro, they had their papers in order; no explanation was given for their detention; there was no interpreter; they were carefully searched; after 3½ hours they were told they could not disembark; nor could they wait for the outcome of a (strange!) request to the French Embassy to intervene on their behalf; having refused to return on the ship, they were manhandled and forcibly brought aboard; they learned only after their return to Le Havre that they were included in a list of people who were not allowed to enter Ireland. This prohibition coincided with the holding of the Anti-Imperialist Festival organised by Sinn Féin (Gardiner Place) for Dublin and Belfast. Dr. Caro says that neither he nor Melle Fournier were invited or delegates to this congress. Towards the same date, according to *Le Peuple Breton*, four other Bretons, of whom two were UDB members, were stopped in Plymouth and put back on board the Penn-ar-Bed for Roskov. The English authorities were in possession of their names and obviously had instructions to prevent them from proceeding to Ireland. A conclusion was drawn that letters announcing their participation in the Anti-Imperialist Congress were opened, and co-operation between the police forces of the three States involved was brought into play.

A student from Nantes, member of a French-Irish Committee in Angers, had a similar experience. Subsequent complaints have brought no reply as to why Dr. Caro was stopped, only that he (alone of the seven mentioned) might be allowed to enter Ireland after the said congress. The English authorities and press had created a scare, announcing it as a Terrorists' Congress, a charge which was echoed by some continental papers. S.F. Plás Gairdnéir have expressed their opposition to the use of arms in the present situation in Northern Ireland, except in certain reprisals. The Congress was not forbidden in Dublin nor in Belfast. Its aim was to make the party's policies internationally known. Is it the concentration on social-economic issues which worries the authorities? Bretons would be surprised to see UDB delegates bracketed among "terrorists", as the UDB has repeatedly condemned the militant activities of the Breton Liberation Front.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The A.G.M. of the Celtic League was held in Basse-Indre near Naoned/Nantes on August 17th and 18th. The three working sessions were attended by 22 members representing the Breton, Welsh, Irish, London and New York branches. Apologies were received from the Scottish and the new Cornish secretaries. The first two meetings were conducted through the medium of Breton and English, the third in English and French.

Reports on C.L. activity during the past year were given by the branch and general secretaries. Periodical branch meetings had been held in Dublin, Cornwall, London. 300-400 copies of each issue of CARN had been sold at gatherings by individual members and secretaries, and the sale of CARN in bookshops had steadily increased, reaching a total of about 500 copies for CARN 5. Information about the Celtic countries, their national movements, ways to learn their languages had been disseminated in reply to numerous queries. Lectures about the Celtic League were given in Bangor and Belfast. The general secretary had helped 5 young people to find work in Ireland and Brittany and had been assisted by a few other members in organising a display of Breton (Torr-e Benn) films in Cork, Dublin, Belfast and Liverpool. The CL had cooperated with other inter-Celtic associations; expressed support for the continuation of programmes in Gaelic in Nova-Scotia; protested on behalf of 4 Irish hunger strikers in danger of dying.

Income to the C.L. central fund over the past year was about £1,400; this was sufficient to cover the cost of printing and postage but left very little for other purposes. Apart from publishing a periodical which provides a constant link between the Celtic countries, the Celtic League constitutes a permanent framework for inter-Celtic cooperation. Its main handicap remains the shortage of time at the disposal of the branch secretaries. The AGM decided to seek assistance from other members for various aspects of the League's work. It welcomed the reconstitution of the Manx and Eastern U.S. branches, as well as the project to form a Youth branch of the Celtic League.

Relations with national organisations were discussed. The C.L. remains independent so as not to commit anybody but itself when taking decisions. Many of its members are active in the national parties. We wish harmonious relations to continue between these and the C.L. Parallel to the quest for means to achieve self-government must go the work of internal consolidation of our national identities. Being fully committed to the aim of restoring the Celtic languages to viable and healthy positions in national life, the C.L. is particularly interested in cooperating with the active language organisations.

The meeting approved proposal by the Breton branch to publish a two-page supplement to CARN in French, summarising important articles in English and correcting false reports in the mass circulation papers on events in our countries. This together with the section in Breton, should facilitate the Breton readers who often find the English in CARN too difficult.

The race for a carving of the oceans floor between coastal States has very important implications for the Celtic countries. The meeting passed a resolution affirming that, until an effective means is evolved of applying the benefit of the resources of the sea for all mankind, the Celtic nations have a right to control the resources of their own sections of the sea-bed.

A dozen Celtic League members organised a sale of CARN Nr 6 at the big fest-noz in the yard of the Castle of Nantes on Sunday 18 August. A 4-day seminar attended by about 25 people took place in Menez Kamm from the 19th to the 23rd of August. It consisted of introductory lessons of Breton, and lectures on the history of Brittany, the history of the Breton movement, the problems of the Breton farmers.

A Youth Branch of the Celtic League

Do we need a youth branch of the Celtic League? If we look at our aims closely, we realise that they will not be achieved overnight, but in a matter of years. With this in view, we must look to the future of the league and ensure that these aims which we hold so dear will not die with us. We see the necessity to pass on our love for our languages and culture to the young people of our nations, that they may work and indeed see the fruits of their labour in the realisation of our aims.

Our languages must develop and the areas where they are spoken be enlarged, if they are to survive as spoken languages and not to be deemed the luxury of the linguists and fossilised in text books. This almost sad plight of Kernewek (Cornish) and it could well happen to the rest of the Celtic languages if we neglect the opportunity to stimulate an interest in the youth. In Éire, for example, the census report of 1961 showed that 150,000 persons between the ages of ten and fourteen considered themselves as 'Irish Speakers'. This does not indicate a high degree of fluency in the language, but a goodwill towards it. This figure represented half of the nation's teenagers of that age group. These children had as they were still at school the opportunity to develop and expand their vocabulary in the class. They would have been motivated by their teachers to use the language in games. Many of them would have spent some time in the Gaeltacht, which may have been their reason to consider themselves as 'Irish Speakers'. But as they became older and left the environment where the language held a special place, namely the school, their interest fell and an apathy set in. We see what happens to a language that is not widely used as an everyday means of communication in the results of the 1971 census: After ten years, out of those 150,000, only 79,632 still considered themselves as 'Irish Speakers'. This shows the failure to stimulate the initial interest of the youth in the intervening years. If this interest had been caught at its height the language would be a lot stronger today.

The co-operation of the youth could, for example, revive Cornish and Manx as the cultural languages of their nations. The process of revitalising a language through the music of the nation is evident in Breizh and Éire where the work of Alan Stivell and the Irish groups like Planxty, Horslips, Clanad and the 'Daddy' of them all, Seán Ó Riada, can be called a revolution in its own right.

This interest when stimulated would develop a literacy in Gàidhlig and Brezhoneg in the Gaidhealtachd of Alba and Breizh. In the Gaidhealtachd a growing apathy of the youth towards their language is very evident indeed. The young people speak English and not the language of their homes. If this trend continues the Gàidhealtachd will not exist after 1990.

The culture will die if it is not respected and developed or if it is a stigma of racial inferiority or some obscure shame. This 'Stigma of Shame' policy was and is practised by the French and English governments on the Celtic peoples they

subdued by force and in some cases by barbaric acts of racial degradation.

The children in Éire and Breizh for example were made to feel ashamed of their own native languages. Pupils caught speaking Brezhoneg were often meted harsh and offensive punishments. The Irish 'Tally Stick' provides an extraordinary example of the method whereby ignorant peasant parents and village school masters killed a unique heritage in less than fifty years and pushed the language to its present position on the far western coasts of our island. Irish is now officially left in isolation to wither away slowly and to be replaced by an Anglo-American conglomerate of a culture. The rural life in which our language developed is gone, we must now look to the industrialised future and ensure a justifiable place for our languages in that society. The Celtic peoples must be made aware of their own unique culture and stop this, as Professor Green puts it, linguistic suicide. Suicide? Yes, we have been manipulated by the English and French in order to kill our own languages.

Our only hope for the realisation of our aims, lies in our ability to stimulate the consciousness favourable to a linguistic revolution we can assure a place for our heritage in the future.

A youth branch of the Celtic League would take the responsibility for the promotion of the aims of this organisation among the youth of the Celtic Nations.

If you would like to help make this idea a reality, I would like to hear from you.

Mícheál Ó Muireagáin, 11 Páirc Bhaile an Róistigh, Dún Laoire, Co. Átha Cliath.

Pan-Keltic Conference

On the 17, 18, 19 May 1974 the Hunter Keltic Club held the first Pan-Keltic Conference in North America.

There were films on Ireland, Scotland and Irish-Americans. Forums were held in Keltic Archaeology, Art, History, Language and Politics. Both Kelts and Keltic-Americans were represented. Help came from the Hunter College community, City University of New York and others. Although the three day conference did not draw as many people as was hoped, those who came were very interested in the Pan-Keltic ideal and felt it would be a good practice to build in the U.S.

Names were collected for the re-establishing of the Celtic League in the U.S. and many are interested.

The conference ended with a concert on Sunday featuring Breton, Irish, Scottish and Welsh entertainment. It was the first Pan-Keltic concert in the U.S.

Plans have already been spoken of for another Conference next year. This time it is hoped it would be sponsored by the Hunter Keltic Club in conjunction with the American Branch of the Celtic League.

Maybe one of the drawbacks of this years Conference can be overcome, that is the representation of the Manx and/or Manx-Americans.

American Branch

AMERICAN BRANCH. The American branch of the Celtic League elected a nine member executive committee at its October (monthly) meeting. See secretary's address on back cover. Membership of branch costs \$6, part of which being retained for branch expenses (distribution of CARN, etc. . .).

CELTIC CONGRESS IN NANTES

The Celtic Congress was held this year in NANTES (13-18 August). The venue was chosen in order to stress that this city of some 300,000 people is well in Brittany, notwithstanding its exclusion from the official "Region de Programme Bretagne". Naturally the Congress would have been more noticed in a smaller town, but owing to the probably largest attendance ever achieved by a Celtic Congress (altogether 1,700 are said to have been there and its sessions were attended by an average 400 or 500 people) it got a good coverage in the daily press and even a half hour report on French TV which must have reached the six corners of the Hexagon. Apart from the Bretons, there was a massive Welsh participation (some 300). Accommodation and food were provided to everybody's satisfaction, and the weather was marvellous.

The theme of the Congress was to define a charter of cultural rights common to the six Celtic countries. This was being attempted for the first time. It was no easy task in view of the various circumstances of our language struggles and the tactical or ideological divergences between those involved. One might be tempted to say that "the rights of our languages" have been defined umpteen times, and that the only problem is really how to popularise their acceptance and translate them into practice — however that was not discussed by the Congress. It was, we hope, only the start of a common inter-Celtic campaign. We know that success depends on whatever power, material, numerical, spiritual, we can mobilize; above all, that the Celtic languages have to be seen to be useful means of expression and instruments of original creation if they are to regain their place in our communities; but for those who believe that "at the beginning was the word" and who are determined to act accordingly, it will be of help to have this Charter of Rights. It will support them whenever they encounter opposition.

In the discussions conducted in the amphitheater of the Faculty of Arts, Nantes University, a great effort was made to use the Celtic languages of Brittany and Wales as well as French and English, a procedure which succeeded thanks to gifted interpreters, but which at the same time appeared unduly time-consuming and repetitive to many participants. Certainly the right demanded in the Congress declaration that devices for simultaneous translation be provided by the State in each Celtic country, was shown here to be founded on a need.

The common declaration arrived at on Saturday, 17th is provisional, as certain points in it require a more precise wording; a final statement will have to wait till Easter, when the next congress is to be convened in Cornwall. There were six commissions, concerned respectively with teaching, literature and publications, the mass media, the administration, cultural destruction, the connection between culture and economy. We found the following points of particular interest: 1) the decline of the Celtic cultures is not due to a natural evolution but to the deliberate policies of certain States and to economic exploitation; if a national culture is denied real status, the nation tends to disintegrate as a living community and to adopt a defeatist attitude towards the worsening of economic decline and emigration; cultural rehabilitation, on the contrary, gives a people the confidence necessary for the development of its own resources in all spheres of life. If this assertion is substantiated, it would help to counter e.g. the complaint of

tax-payers' money being wasted for the Irish language. 2) In the Celtic countries radio and television should be free of all subordination to commercial interests; they should help to teach our languages and histories. WHY DID TELEFIS EIREANN NOT REPEAT THE BUNTUS CAINTE SERIES? WAS IT TOO POPULAR? 3) Citizens in the Celtic countries should not have to remind authorities and institutions of their rights to use their Celtic language. THIS IS WHAT IRISH CITIZENS HAVE CONTINUOUSLY TO DO, HOWEVER. 4) the principle of a right to "reparations" for the damage done to our cultures: it is not clear who would be asked to pay; 5) the Congress noted "with regret", how diplomatic!, the continued opposition of the French government to the teaching of Breton and their refusal to sign an article of the European Convention of Human Rights which would enable individual Bretons to sue the said government on that account; it urged the "British" and the Irish government as well as the EEC Educational Commission to intervene with the French government on behalf of the Bretons, and if necessary to impose economic sanctions until that government adapts its policy to the Convention. Could the Congress so delude themselves as to expect any such moves? Would it be the effect of having kept out of politics? What advantages can the Bretons offer to cattle-dealers?

A memorandum prepared by Conradh na Gaeilge provided a ready basis and guidance for the discussions. A high degree of agreement was reached by the first four commissions but the reports of the other two were not acceptable to the majority of the official delegates from the Celtic Congress branches in Ireland and Britain, since they infringed the no-politics rule. A number of participants decided to issue an addendum to the Draft Declaration stating that the latter had omitted essential passages of the two reports namely that, a) among the means of cultural destruction were the exploitation of our artistic values by the tourist industry, the destruction of the ecological balance, the appropriation of our land by the State, Army, Big Money; b) a prime responsibility was born by the English and the French States and by the EEC machine (with its law of maximum profit which lies at the core of capitalism and imperialism), in preventing the harmonious development of our people, living as they do on the periphery of the production and consumption centres of England, France and the other EEC countries. Further it was stated that the cultural struggle on one hand, and the economic and social struggle on the other, could not be separated, since *without people*, our cultures would have no basis in reality.

Commission 6 had urged the creation at all levels of autonomous institutions corresponding to the non-partitioned territories of the oppressed Celtic nations. It drew attention however to the *insufficiency* of institutional solutions (exemplified in Ireland) for safeguarding national identity.

Indeed Maolseachlainn Ó Caollaí, for six years president of Conradh na Gaeilge, goes deeper when he points out that institutions are necessary for consolidating gains made, but by their very nature they cannot bring about changes: these are obtained by revolutionary movements).

Breizh go hEirinn

About £37 collected by the secretary and members of the Breton Branch (C.L.) to help relieve distress in N. Ireland have been divided between the Association for Legal Justice and An Chrois Ghlas, Belfast. About £50 are yet to be sent by the Breton secretary.

TRIESTE MINORITIES CONFERENCE

The "Europe of small nations" was a major theme in Trieste, Italy, from the 10th to the 14th of July, when some 700 people (about 550 as official participants) attended an international conference of and about minorities. The event brought together representatives — or at least members — of ethnic groups in western Europe and Yugoslavia, with a few participants from North America, as well as experts on minority problems. Some observers said the importance or success of the conference should not be overrated, but press reports agreed that it provided an opportunity for an exchange of experience and views.

That it attracted press coverage can be seen as one of its successes. The press was generally sympathetic, but (the newsagencies especially) seems to have concentrated mainly on the sheer presence of so many minorities (noting that there were participants from Scotland, Brittany and Wales, for instance) without going too deeply into the views expressed. The conference certainly drew the attention of the Italian press to the problems of minorities, and especially to the presence of linguistic minorities in Italy. L'EUROPEO, for example, devoted a feature to 12 European "prohibited nations", including Breizh, Cymru, Kernow and Alba. A number of newspapers outside Italy had their own correspondents there.

The initiative for it did not come from the need to resolve any particular dispute, but from the desire of the provincial government of Trieste to see such a gathering take place. The Trieste authorities, led by the president, Dr. Michele Zanetti, reportedly hope it will lead to a permanent institution, world-wide in scope, although this first minorities conference was mainly restricted to groups in western Europe.

The conference could have been limited to some extent by its very strength: the wide range of groups and goals involved. In that sense, what criticism there was might reveal, indirectly, what the conference did achieve. And there was some disappointment. An expert in nationalities law felt not enough was done in this field. Another observer was disappointed that the organizers turned down a proposal for a resolution requesting the Council of Europe (which was represented) to call on its member governments to include information on linguistic groups in their population statistics. He also found it very difficult to discover who was talking about what, and where, in the first days of the conference. The same observer stressed that the conference was interesting, and said he made contacts which he would pursue.

The Irish-speaking population of Ireland was not officially represented (nor were other groups in analogous, legally-recognized positions, such as the Sorbic minority in the German Democratic Republic or Denmark's Faroe Islanders). There were two people from the I.R.A. who were given an evening of speaking time although they did not come as official participants. The I.R.A. talk was said to have made a realistic impression, though a bit "radical". And an Italian newspaper quoted a Basque representative as saying: "The Irish are admirable, but they lose themselves in tactics. We have a strategy."

B. F.

For a full report, read *Europa Ethnica* which was represented in Trieste by two of its editors. Th. Veiter and J. Héraud.

MYTHOLOGY

" I have been considering some old saga as an instrument

To play upon

..... If I could rewrite a famous tale,

Or perhaps return to a midnight calving —

This cow sacred on a Hindu scale

..... the soil turn sour.

Needs to be revived by a power not my own.

Heroes enormous who do astounding deeds

Out of this world

This poem of Patrick Kavanagh's was a starting point for a whole series of thought on mythology and its present relevance. Why do we need myths, why do poets, painters, and peoples need a mythology? the following observations are some of the answers.

Mythology as a form of Shorthand

Myths can be described as a form of shorthand that pass on: to each generation the knowledge, outlook, and opinions of a people on their own culture and history. In each culture there is a collection of traditional stories that show what a people think of their own history and culture. They show that a people thinks of itself as a courageous people, or a clever people, as a people who like to be different from their neighbours, or as a people full of imaginative force and magic.

Here in Ireland for example we have Cúchulainn fighting tirelessly against the enemies. The Spanish have El Cid, the English Robin Hood, the French Roland, the Americans Davy Crockett and so on.

These are not historical figures, though they may have existed, and even have a place in history. They are used to explain something that the people of the country admire.

They are in popular use as a sort of quick way of describing someone or some event. They are there waiting to be used by authors who know that the characters in the myths are popular coinage.

In this way Donagh Mac Donagh used the well known story of *Deirdre* to make a very convincing evil woman in the "Spider Lady"; he kept the story but created quite a new character from the popular love-lorn, unlucky, tragic *Deirdre*.

This sort of writing is intimate, and it cannot be done unless the story is completely familiar to the audience. The true myth must be popularly known, it must be part of the background to life.

Any reference to it must be absurdly familiar; if in Ireland you say someone is like Fionn Mac Cumhaill, everyone knows you mean a big strong man, a bit larger than life. The art of the writer comes in when he can use the well known story as a frame work, a short cut background to create a living character.

In order to stay alive a myth must be re-written for each generation. In Ireland Yeats, Stephen's, MacLiammóir, re-wrote the well known myths; re-created is perhaps a better word. Their creations are now a bit out of date.

Each generation puts its own interpretation on why Cúchulainn killed his friend Ferdia, why did he not just wound him?

With the present fighting in the North, Cúchulainn and the whole Táin cycle are again relevant, i.e. Ulster against the rest of Ireland, the special people.

Artists at present are using the symbol of Cúchulainn in their work, as this myth has a lot to say to us today.

Perhaps one reason for the lacunae in prose writing in Irish and English in Ireland at the moment is the complete lack of any attempt to re-create the mythological stories. Lately Thomas Kinsella produced an English translation of "An Táin"; but a translation only makes the text available it is in no sense creative.

Already the translation has inspired the Gresham Hotel to commission John Behan to do a series of bronzes on the "Táin" for their restaurant.

The heroes in the myths are only prototypes, they get their life from the creative artists in every generation, each needs the other to survive.

One of the chief things accomplished by a mythological story is that it shows a moment of crises in the hero's life, or in the nation's life.

Take the famous episode of Cúchulainn's death — he tied himself to the pillar so that he might face his death and his enemies standing. This is commemorated in the statue in the General Post Office in Dublin. It is one of the most interesting statues in Dublin, you just have to look at it, you have to think about it. If an Irish artist wants to make a statement about the how of dying he can use the prototype of Cúchulainn. A raven came and drank his blood, the details are well known; everyone has heard the story. This is a great help to an artist who has a statement to make. In the same way the story of the Children of Lir — who were changed into swans by an evil stepmother and back into people on becoming Christians — is used by Oisín Kelly in the Garden of Remembrance, to show we are a people in a stage of becoming.

Artists do not communicate in words, but in images and ideas; they need the myths even more than writers.

There is a saying that there is magic in three things, "poetry, song, and love", I think that mythology should be in the list as well.

Since the myths are so well known as to be almost part of the collective unconsciousness of the people, they are vital to the artists who want to communicate with the people. In his use or illustration of the myth the artist wants to help a people to understand itself, to free the people from oppressive perhaps unidentified fears by showing how a similarly awful situation was or could be handled in the mythological story. It is of the essence of the myth that it has something very up to date to say to us. A lot of what is at present going on in Ireland could be illustrated by parallels with the Cúchulainn story. Such illustration needs a master's hand, but many artists of my acquaintance are using Cúchulainn as a starting point to make a present statement. Many still prefer the Greek myths, as these are current all over Europe.

At the beginning of this century Yeats & Lady Gregory following Ferguson, de Vere and others, using the Irish texts being printed at the time, tried to re-write the Irish myths in English. They were not particularly successful. Yeats' plays "On Baile's Strand" or "The Green Helmet" are interesting plays, but they have little or nothing to say today and probably never had. They are more in the nature of exercises. In some ways Yeats was in these plays an archeologist, "the great virtues, the great joys, the great privations come in the myths" — but he never showed that the stories of the myths come from the guts of the people, and not from the intellect as with him.

This is not to condemn him completely as he was on the right road, but was too intellectual. Brendan Kennelly, writing in *Hermathena*, 1965, on "The Heroic Ideal" has this to

say "the strength of Yeats' heroic ideal . . . derives not from blind self-assertion . . . but from the knowledge that the man who lives heroically meets dangerous obstacles on all sides; he is heroic because he encounters these and overcomes them. He makes a deliberate choice, and is aware of the consequences, his actions are based on this free choice" . . . This is true and Yeats' heroes fail as dramatic figures because they are not drawn strongly enough. Since Yeats' time little use has been made of the heroes in plays or novels and this may be due to lack of popular texts of the stories or lack of interest in the content of the myths, or because Yeats' over used the Gaelic myth in English. He got it away from its roots and it died like the seed that fell on the barren rock. There is a mine of stories relevant to all aspects of life in the myths as Yeats recognised: it just needs the imaginative creative mind to make it relevant to the present; Yeats was not trying to be relevant.

Myths are needed in childhood to help the child to come to terms with terrible happenings in life and to be able to hear them without fear through the veil of "old unhappy far off things."

It is very important for the child to have some understanding of people. A child can understand something of people from the mythological story (and Cúchulainn again comes to mind) how a man can stand on his own against a whole people, and make up his own mind about his own life — even when everyone says that his choice is pointless folly.

The child can also see how an accepted hero, like Fionn Mac Cumhaill can do an evil deed, as when Fionn refuses to give water to his dying enemy Diarmuid. It is important that a child should hear the strange and maybe even evil deeds that abound in the myth, for the age of the story, and its mythological formulae — i.e. everything must happen 3 times etc. — shield the child from harm, and at the same time give him understanding. These stories are like songs in the formulated way they are told. Told in Irish in the words going back over 1,000 years they are very potent indeed.

This makes it a great pity that many of the versions of the stories, that are to be found in the present primary school text books, are only pale lifeless shadows of the stories themselves. Even with the limited vocabulary used in these books, the telling could retain some of the magic and phraseology of the earlier versions.

It is also a pity that out of the hundreds of stories only about 5 or 6 are in current use — the school books. There was a film on Telefís Éireann at Christmas 1972 using the story of Oisín agus Niamh Cinn Óir (Golden Head).

The film was very interesting in that the film makers could proceed with the film confident that all their audience know the story backwards.

There is a mine of adventure stories on prototype heroes in the myths. They are symbols that can be put into everyday currency.

Oedipus is a symbol in common use. These are new plays based on the story coming out every year. The Diarmuid and Gráinne story is in everyday use, Eoghan Ó Tuairisc, for example wrote a long poem called "The Weekend of Dermot and Grace". When this common currency occurs, there is a sort of secret recognition between the author, the public and the story. It is like listening to a well known symphony under a new conductor, there is recognition, understanding and if it is well done a great feeling of satisfaction at the end.

Pearse made no mistake when he recommended Cúchulainn as a hero for youth at that age, about 10-12, when the child is looking for heroes. Cúchulainn is only one of many complicated prototype heroes waiting for the hand of the artist to bring them alive again. And what have we in Ireland today as heroes but *Skipper the Bush Kangaroo*, and *Robin Hood*, who fulfills all the requisites of a hero, only he does not symbolise any of the unarticulated aspirations of the Irish people.

The whole field of myth in relation to religion, or religious ritual, is not touched here, as for the moment I am only concerned with the continuing relevance of the myths. We would not be remembering them if we did not need them.

Clíodna Ó Snodaigh, (translated from an article published in *Comhar*, Nollaig, 1973).

DISCORDANT NOTES. Many recent events illustrate the growth of friendly relations between the Celtic peoples, particularly in the cultural field. That obstacles to this process exist must be objectively recognised. We hear of demonstrations in Sant-Brieg and in Caergybi/y Barri against the import of Irish cattle. The twinning of Lorient and Galway has been marred by an apparently ill-prepared plan to set up a Breton fish-processing factory in the latter city. We were assured by one of the promoters that the Bretons could have helped the Irish to gain an easier access to the EEC fish markets and that their trawlers were not interested in fishing in Irish territorial waters: how is it though that before publicizing the project, the Galway fishermen were not brought into the discussions, so that they might be convinced that an agreement would benefit them also? Is it true that their suspicions were aroused by the middlemen who sell their fish?

The use of violence in N. Ireland has deterred the peace-abiding Scottish and Welsh national parties from taking any stand on political and civil rights issues in that area: they fear that whatever they might say would alienate many on whose votes they count. This leaves the mass circulation papers as the sole sources of information concerning the terrible N.I. situation. Faithful to our basic aims, we maintain our stand against all kinds of discrimination and urge a solution which will guarantee fundamental rights to all in N. Ireland and lay the basis for as peaceful a co-existence as exists between the Dutch or German Catholics and Protestants.

Inter-Celtic solidarity can be built only on objective information. How lacking it is was made clear to us when we heard a strongly pro-Irish Belfastman saying about the Welsh "They are all English" because a "Welsh" regiment is involved in army harassment of the people of West Belfast.

We all rejoice at the success of the Scottish Nationalists in the elections to Westminster, but we cannot agree with the friend who said it made inter-Celtic cooperation superfluous; On the contrary! We are not just concerned with setting up new States which will consecrate the existing social and cultural situations, we need them to promote actively our distinctive cultures and languages. This is an objective that is common to all Celtic countries and which we will need for a long time to keep before the public mind. Conjugated efforts are called for.

ALBA

RESULT OF THE OCTOBER 10th ELECTION :

The S.N.P. retained the 7 seats they had held since February and added another 4 thus making a total of 11. The following table will show more clearly the state of all the parties in Scotland and how the iniquitous voting system gives the S.N.P. more than 30% of the votes but so few seats.

Party	Seats	Votes	% Votes	% Votes	
				Votes in Feb.	In Feb.
Labour	41	1,000,551	36.28	1,057,551	36.72
S.N.P.	11	839,000	30.44	633,130	21.99
Con.	16	681,331	24.71	950,770	33.01
Lib.	3	228,855	8.30	223,520	7.76

All the S.N.P. gains were at the expense of the Conservative Party who are at their lowest ebb since 50 years ago and completely demoralised in Scotland. The Labour party cannot feel much happier: 16 Scottish seats have majorities of under 2,000 and more than half these under 1,000.

The S.N.P. are in 2nd place in no fewer than 42 constituencies and many of these are marginal. 9 of the 2nd places are in Glasgow and although in some of those seats the Labour Party are well ahead it is a portent of the coming struggle when the S.N.P. as the only alternative to the British Labour Party in Scotland must convince the electors in the industrial West of Scotland that they are a radical party . . . Scotland. If they do they are in a wonderful position for taking off — they are the main challengers to within their grasp for next time. (continued p.23)

The Demand for "Saor Alba" Continues

After the second General Election of 1974 the political scene can never be quite the same ever again. The peoples of Scotland and Wales have declared that they wish to govern themselves: that they are no longer willing to accept, hands down, Westminster misrule. The English-based political parties may not yet have conceded that this was the electorate's message on both February 28th and October 10th (they may not even have recognised this fact), but the message is there, and unless they get off their mark quickly (and we hope they don't) then come the next election, the voice calling for political and social freedom will be irresistibly loud.

In Scotland, it has taken 46 years of hard work for the S.N.P. to become the second contender, in percentage of votes; although the outdated electoral system we have means we have still to take 3rd place in terms of seats in Parliament. By the time all results of October 10th were in, the SNP had 31% of the Scottish vote, only 5% behind the Labour Party; yet we had only 14.3% of the seats, a dismal third to Tory and Labour, despite the Tory representation falling sharply.

In many ways, the SNP made some very great advances in the election for it was the first time that we were defending a number of seats gained in a previous general election; and amidst terrific pressure from the other parties to gain their lost castles of power, the SNP succeeded in retaining ALL SEVEN SEATS! That was a worthwhile triumph in itself. And the gaining of a further FOUR seats at the expense of the Conservatives, plus a great increase (9%) in our overall vote, kept the SNP bandwagon rolling, forcing the opposition to realise that despite their efforts,

our message was reaching out further and further to the voters disgruntled by the play-pen politics that occur away down there in London.

Apart from the SNP the only party to hold onto all their seats was Labour, and only these two made any gains. The SNP, however, can also boast proudly that they alone in Scotland held onto all 71 deposits not losing even one £150. It shows the change that has recently come over Scottish politics when the two massive English groups can lose NINE deposits, totalling £1,350, and the forgotten Liberals a very much larger sum. If nothing else this shows that we represent a wide spectrum of voters in all 71 constituencies; that we are acceptable to the voters everywhere, not being seen as a threat to the beliefs of any major grouping within Scotland. WE of the SNP do not suffer from the class warfare waged by the candidates of the London Empire parties. As for the Liberals, they have a strong vote in only some five constituencies, three of which they hold in the present Parliament. And in all these their share of the vote fell sharply this time, as the SNP showed themselves to be the only real alternative to the oppressive rule of Westminster.

In the short space of less than a year the SNP have increased their parliamentary representation by the awe-inspiring 1,100%, and besides this share of MPs, the SNP are placed second in a further 39 constituencies, any of which could (and should) come their way in a by-election situation, a number of which can be expected in the life of the present Parliament. At the next General Election these seats will be the prime targets for a total breakthrough, where, with a majority of the Scottish seats, the SNP MPs can demand to Westminster that they immediately set about giving full devolution to Scotland.

It is true that the SNP could have made a bigger inroad into the Labour vote, even at this election; but at a time when there was a swing of votes to the Labour Party over the whole of the UK, the SNP did remarkably well. They may have failed to seize a number of Labour seats THIS TIME, but everyone realises the SNP are now on a stepping-stone, such that, on the next occasion, this situation will be dramatically rectified. We of the SNP know this: the Labour Party FEAR this. Yet what can they do except continue with their smears about racialism and Tartan Tories, since they still refuse to recognise the right of a Nation to be ruled by her own people.

We know that the 31% of the electorate who voted SNP voted for a Scottish Parliament that their 800,000+ votes was no protest vote, but a real vote for the common-sense policy of demanding the right to self-representation and self-government for and by the people of Scotland. The people of Scotland being all who live here and wish to be recognised as citizens of this country, whatever their ethnic or religious background.

This has been written with the situation here in Scotland as the main theme, though it is recognised that our Welsh cousins, too, declared their belief that they should live in a free nation. As yet it may only be in the West, but we know that the message emanating from the Plaid will soon be felt elsewhere. For it is the spirit of a Nation calling for its just freedom! No man can ask for more: and no man could be satisfied with less!

The Nations of the Celtic fringe of Europe are finally re-awakening. Soon, once more, they will become of age . . .

S. Allan (Alasdair MacAileain), (17/10/'74).
Student Nationalist Association, Aberdeen University.

Distiller's Company Anti-Gaelic

Comunn na Canàin Albannaich (The Scottish Language Society) has accused a whisky firm, Distillers Company Ltd., Edinburgh, of taking a stand against one of the basic human rights recognised by the United Nations, the right of an ethnic and linguistic group to speak their own language and use it in all relevant domains.

The Comunn's spokesman, Frang Mac Thomais, had requested the company to display an enlightened attitude towards Gaelic in Skye, where they operate a distillery. In reply, Distillers chairman Mr. Alex Macdonald said:

"We are of course intensely interested in the future of Scotland and indeed in the welfare of the people of Skye where . . . we are the proprietors of the only distillery. In the view of my colleagues, however, the future of the island will not be helped by a movement designed to encourage the resuscitation of the Gaelic tongue. It is, I believe, well known that the standard of education of the people of Ireland was greatly reduced by the projection of a similar concept there."

This, commented F. Mac Thomais, was about the most ill-conceived, arrogant and damning statement he had ever seen from a principal of a firm whose very profits were made from the sweat off the backs of Gaelic-speakers. The company's record for employment merited a hard look: the modernisation of their Skye operation had thrown many men out of work — in an area where jobs were hard to find . . . If Mr. Macdonald's attitude is typical of top Scottish management, the outlook for Gaelic is indeed grim.

Comunn na Canain intended to approach an Comunn Gaedhealach to ensure that the products of the Distillers Company Ltd. are not bought at any time by its members, particularly during the National Mod. The Friends of The Earth have shown the way by calling for a boycott of Schweppes Ltd., a firm which they consider a pollutant of the environment.

Let us watch for this particular brand of whisky and remember to bring Celtic solidarity into play by also boycotting it.

LETTER

"I find CARN very useful and entertaining, and have few criticisms. More articles from Scotland, however, would be welcome. Especially if they were in our native tongue. Unhappily, I can speak only a very little of Gaidhlig, or this contribution would have been in that language.

That those who profess to believe in a free Scotland, however, make no attempt to learn our true speech I find disgraceful. I, myself, certainly have begun learning, though it is a slow process amongst the data to be learnt for my studies here in Aberdeen.

Others, of course, expect the Westminster Parliament to aid their attempts at restoring Gaidhlig to its proper status.

How misled they are.

But back to 'CARN'. I have been selling a number of copies in Aberdeen, mainly to members of A.U. Scottish Nationalist Association of which I am a member. I hope this year to expand these sales to others outside the University.

My friends in AUSNA, have received "CARN" well, and some others may try writing for you. The main contributor from Alba at present seems to be Rob Gibson, a friend of us all here, and former President of FSN, the alliance of student nationalist clubs in all the Scottish Universities.

SANDY ALLAN

Solus Ur Anns an Eilean Sgitheanach

(Bho'n "Scotsman" air eadar-theangachadh agus air giorrachadh le Coinneach MacFhionghuin)

Am measg mòran leasachaidhean ùra air brosnachadh air oighreachd Eilean Iarmain fo shealbh Iain Noble, tha aon dhiubh a tha sònruichte airson èifeachd àraidh air Ghàidhealtachd-an-lar. Oir, aig Sabhal Mór Ostaig, ann an Sléibhte, an Eilean Sgitheanach, tha iad a' deanamh a' cheud cheim gu stéidheachadh ùr a chur air bonn airson oideachas cruthachail am measg nan Eileanan Siar Cha bhith an Colaisde Gàidhlig airson oileanaich is ùidh aca ans a' Ghàidhlig a mhàin, ach airson muinntir na dùthcha gu léir. Bithidh e 'na àite far am bi cùisean an là-an-diugh air leasachadh troimh mheadhoin na Gàidhlig.

Is e seo 'na shealladh cudthromach airson dream a tha fo dhì-meas a thaobh cànan agus caitheamh-beatha agus airson gach Albannach a tha deònach airson ath-bheòchadh dùthchas Albannach a tha fìor agus neo-thruaillte.

Tha'n Colaisde Gàidhlig fo urras deirceachail aig a bheil mar na prìomh urrasairean: An t-Oll. Gordon Bàrr (a' cheud fear-stiùiridh), Mgr. D. R. Dòmhnallach (Ard-Sgoil Phortrigh), Mgr. I. A. ("Jake") MacDhòmhnaill (Colaisde Cnoc Iordain), An t-Oll. Somhairle MacGhill'Eathain, agus Mgr. Iain Noble. Bithidh càch fhathast ri gairm. Tha filidh air suidheachadh aig a' cholaisde cheana: A' Mhgn-Uasal Caitriona NicGhumaraid á Roaig. Tha i a' sealbheachadh aon de na dreuchdan "sgriobhadair-do'n-muinntir" fo ughdarras Comhairle Albannach Ealdhainean.

Dh'eadar-minich an t-Oll. Bàrr a tiotail: "B'àbhaist do'n fhilidh anns na làithean-a-chaidh a' deanamh òrain agus chlàr a' chinnidh agus bha anns an fhilidh fear-tasgaidh beul-aithris an t-sluaigh. Mar sin, ged nach 'eil an tiotail buileach ceart. bha sinn a' faireachduinn mur 'eil dreuchd an fhilidh air tighinn gu crìoch, bhitheadh filidhean a' deilgeadh le eòlas-sgrìobhte aig an là-an-diugh. "Se eadar-theangachadh a th'ann anns an spiorad a' cheud ciallachadh."

Air coir-éiginn, tha an leasachadh seo ann an riochd nàdurra. Tha e cho simplidh agus ceart mar gach rud eile aig an t-Sabhal Mór.

Tha an togalach comhlionta ann a dhòigh airson a ghnòthuich foghlumte agus soisealta. Tha e air togalach gu teann de chlach: le trì sgiathan 90' mu'n timchioll lios. Tha tùr ann mar ball-maise aig oisinn dheith, a tha a' toirt dreach urramaichte do'n àite. Tha talla comhlabhairt ann a tha drùidhteach le ballachan biorach, cabairean-mullach agus uinneagan maiseach. Tha'n cidsean, seomar-cumanta, leabharlann agus seomar-leughaidh deiseal — ged a tha iad a' feith-eamh fhathast air leabhraichean agus airneis-tighe.

Bha'n Colaisde Gàidhlig air leasachadh o chionn gu'n robh leabharlann ann an toiseach. "Bha sinn a' toirt fairear de a's urrainn dhuinn a' deanamh dheth," thuirt Mgr. Iain Noble. "Bha sinn a' smuainteachadh air tighean — ach is dòcha gum bi iad a' fàs 'nan tighean-samhraidh. Bha sinn a' smuainteachadh air factoraidh — smuainich sinn gum faigheamaid factoraidh co-dhiùbh nan robh feum againn. An sin bheachdaicheadh e gur math nan robh leabharlann Gàidhlig ann — oir cha'n 'eil a leithid ann air Thaobh-an-lar gu léir, agus chuireadh cruach mor leabhraichean chugainn. Ach ma bhios leabharlann ann, is coir dhuinn rudan eile a dheanamh mu'n timchioll. Agus b'ann mar sin a bha oidhirp a' cholaisde a' toiseachadh."

Beagan an déidh sin thàinig an t-Oll. Bàrr a Oilthigh Dhùn-deagh a lorg tigh airson bliadhna far am b'urrainn dha sgrudadh air mona a dheanamh. Mar sin thòg e an dreuchd mar Fhear-Stiùiridh airson bliadhna bho'n Sultùine 1973 chum

gu cur a' cholaisde air bonn. Bha e 'na fhear-teagaisg 'san Oilthigh agus theagaisg e Gàidhlig aig sgoil-oidhche an Dùn-deagh. Mar sin cha do rùnaich e iomhaigh seann-fhasanta airson na cànaire.

"Is caomh leinn modhannan-teagasg an là-an-diugh airson na Gàidhlig," thuirt e. "Chan'n ann ach faoin sgeul a radh gur e duilich Gàidhlig a dh'ionnsachadh — ach tha daoine 'ga ionnsachadh fo dhuilgheadasan eu-coltach ri Frangais no Gearmailteas. Gun teagamh 'sam bith tha fìor-dhroch modhannan-teagasg aca 'sna sgoiltean-oidhche."

"Am bliadhna bithidh Mgr. Iain MacDhòmhnaill a Colaisde Cnoc Iordain aig ceann ghnòthuich aig sgoil-samhraidh Gàidhlig far am bi cùrsa teannaichte ann—leithid 'san Israel—a bheir fileantas 'sa chànan an déidh 70-75 uairean. Bithidh sin a' feuchainn ri a leithid 'sa Ghàidhlig airson a' cheud uair. Bithidh cùrsa co-là-deug ann a' toirt 60 uaireann dhe theagasg agus cha bhi ann r'a cluinntinn ach Gàidhlig a mhàin."

"Bithidh cùrsa feasgair ann fo stiùireadh Mgr. MacDhòmhnaill an Glaschu 'san Fhoghair; da uair gach feasgar, còig feasgairean gach seachduinn. Is urrainn dhuit a bith fileanta 'sa Chuimris mar seo aig ceann dà mhios. Ach feumaidh na clasaichean Gàidhlig a bhith neo-fholaiseach o chionn nach nach 'eil urras aig Ughdarras Foghlum Ghlaschu gur e na's fheàrr an dòigh ùr seo."

Bhò'n thòisich obair an t-Sabhal Mhóir, thàinig bàird Eireannaich air tadhail, thòisich comh-labhairt airson croit-earan, céilidhean, cùrsaichean airson oileanaich eilthirich, tadhall-foghlumaich airson clann-sgoile an Eilean. Bha a' cheud buidhean ag éisdeachd ri peársanta an so-aithneach is iad a bruidhinn air cuspairean an là-an-diugh. Aig ceann goirid bithidh seachduinn ann airson oileanaich Ghàidhlig o Aitreabh Rìoghail Inbhirnis.

"Is àbhaist teagasg a bhith troimh mheadhoin a' Bheurla anns a' chuid a's mò dhe'n Ghàidhealtachd," thuirt an t-Oll. Bàrr, "ach chain urrainn dhuit misneach a thoirt do'n chlann anns a' Ghàidhlig mur 'eil i air a cur ri feum anns na sgoiltean. Tha foghlum a' Ghàidheil a' ciallachadh, 'Cha'n 'eil luach 'sam bith 'nad chànan. Cha'n ann innte ach neònachas'. Ach tha sinne ag radh an seo, 'Cha'n 'eil, tha i cudthromach. Tha sinne a' creidsinn gum bheil neart na muinntire a cheart cho cudthromach ri neart marsantachd."

"Bhitheadh an colaisde toilichte cuireadh a thoirt do chùrsaichean airson luchd-teagaisg," thuirt an t-Oll. Bàrr. "Is toigh leinn stuth foghlumach agus innleachdan fuaime's fradharc a dheanamh airson sgoiltean Albannach is thall thairis — an Alba Nuadh mar eiseimplear. Is mór toil leinn bursaraidhean a bhios ann 'nuair a bhios sinn a leasachadh cùrsaichean-teisteanais is feum againn airson aon — air neo barrachd air aon dhe luchd-teagaisg."

"Is caomh leinn clasaichean-oidhche a dhol air adhart an cuspairean na beatha cumanta, leithid tuathanachas. eòlas-talamhainn, marsantachd, bus ri bus le ealantas is eachdraidh. Tha sin a' cur guth air adhart gu bhith faighinn a mach ma bhios ùidh aig roinn oilthigh airson cùrsa stéidheachadh an seo, air neo airson oileanaich a chur ann."

Lean an t-Oll. Bàrr: "Bi leasachadh an aitreibh an crochadh ri meud an fheuma a tha e a' faighinn. Is coir do'n Ghàidhlig inbhe a bith aice mar chànan an là-an-diugh. Is ann anns a' Ghàidhlig cànan a tha coimhlionta 's freagarrach do chùisean an là-an-diugh. Tha litreachas Gàidhlig ùr ann anns a' bheil an sgeulachd ghoirid gu h-àraidh air choimhlionadh — gu dearbh, tha i a' fàs cho innleachdach a measg sgrìobhadairean a tha deonach deuchainnean a' dheanamh leis a' chànan gum bheil duilgheadas ann o chionn gum i a' dol air seacharan o

Ghàidhlig dhaoine cumanta. Ach tha daoine a' lorg eadar-dealachadh dhaibh-fhéin an duigh. Tha an saoghal a' fàs ro aon-dealbhach mar a tha e."

Bithidh foghlum agus cuairteachas soisealta ag obair ri cheile aig an t-Sabhal Mhór agus chun nach bi bacadh ann airson muinntir na duthcha, cha bhi goireasan cadal aig Ostaig ach tearc. Brosnaichidh Sabhal Mór oileanaich a dh'fhuireach comhla ri muinntir na duthcha mu'n timchioll. Bithidh e math airson clann agus muinntir an eilean a dh'fhaicinn dhaoine eile dùrachdach mu'n déidhinn an càin-san — rud nach dean cron 'sam bi do'n fhéin-urram an t-sluaigh. Is fada bho nach robh feum ann air leasachadh mar seo air Ghàidhealtchd — agus cha'n 'eil iad ' smuainteachadh aig Sabhal Mór gur e ro anmoch air thighinn.

Tha a' chuimse aca a phasgadh mhìle buill mar "Caidreamh an t-Sabhail" chum gu solarachadh tighinn-a-steach dhe £2 fa leth gach bliadhna do'n cholaiste. Tha'n sealladh brosnachail gum bi Colaiste Gàidhlig a' fàs. Bithidh seo 'na chomharradh ni a's mò — nach 'eil call orainn mar Albannaich fhathast gu buileach.

Aincheisd Chultarach

S'e 'luchd-sgaraidh' an t-ainm salach cleachdta a's bith-eanta aig a' cheart àm airson Partaidh Nàiseanta na h-Alba. Leis an fhacal seo tha na luchd-aonachaidh a' ciallachadh 'cumhainn', 'aonaranaich', 'diùltach', 'air tionndadh a staigh'. Air an làimh eile tha na nàiseantaich de'n bharail gur e na partaidhean Lunnainn a tha 'cumail Alba air leth bho bheatha phoiliticeach eadarnàiseanta, s ga tachdadh ann an stréid-sheacaid Breatannach.

Cò-dhiù, tha dà thaobh da rìreadh gu nàiseantachd. 'Sa cheud àite tha sinn airson ar cultùr a' dìonadh bho'n chultùr Sasannach. Ach tha sinn cuideachd ag iarraidh comhlùadar le tìrean eile agus suidheachan a' gabhail anns na Nàiseanan Aonaichte. Air an aon làmh, uime sin, tha sinn ar cultùr a' dunadh, is air an làimh eile tha sinn ga fhosgladh. Feumaidh méidh a bhi ann. Ma tha sin ro dhìonach, cha bhi againn ach cultùr làn chliséidhean — goncaichean tartain, ceòldannsa, cluaran, taigeis is mar sin air adhart. Ach ma tha sinn ro fhosgailte, caillidh sinn ar n-ianannachd féin, mar eiseamlair am féisd Dhun Éideann far an robh Fraingis, Gearmailtais is Beurla le chéile air soighneachan-rathaid agus cha robh Gàidhlig sam bith ach aon soighn beag ag radh. 'Ceud mìle fàilte.'

'S i Beurla càin mhòr, làidir, sholùbadh. Tha i fosgailte gu iomadh shruth cànanach agus tha i saoi bhir air an aobhar sin, 'S i Gàidhlig càin bheag, agus eagalach. 'S urrainn i dìreach a staigh a ciste-mhairbh s am bròd a' dunadh, neo is urrainn i teangan eile a' coinnich agus spàirn airson beatha a' deanamh. Dé mu dhéibhinn fìorghloine cànanach? Chan eil càin sam bith fìorghlan. Chan eil ann ach càin bheò is cànanan mharbha.

Deanamaid gréim daingeann air ar freumhan cultùrach féin, ach nochdamaid ag geugan gu gaathan an t-atharrachaidh Chan eil cultùr sam bith naomh. 'S i an Fhìrinn a tha naomh. B'fheudar dhuinn ar càin a' meudachadh chum an Fhìrinn a cur an céill, an àite an Fhìrinn a lughdachadh gu crìochan ar cànan.

Tha feum againn, tha mi a' credsinn, air eadar-shìolachadh. Tha feum againn air bàrdan a tha seòrsa de beachan eadar nàiseanta, a' giùlain poilin bho fhìlùran céine gu ar blàthan féin. Tha feum againn air leabhraichean air an eadar-theangachadh bhu Spàinnis, Gearmailtais, Fraingis, Rùisis, ged nach eil an Comunn Leabhraichean Gàidhlig a' tabhairt grant

airson seo fhathast. Feumaidh sinn rùm ri smaoineachadh nar càin féin.

S e seo an aincheisd airson ar cultùr agus ar càin — cuin a bhi duite, is cuin a bhi fosgailte. Tha sinn air ròp-teann is bàs air gach taobh.

Fearghus Mac Fhionnlaigh.

GAIRM

GAIRM quarterly: 100 pages: all in Scottish Gaelic, published by Gairm Publications, 29 Waterloo Street, Glasgow, Scotland. 25p per issue, £1.20 annual subscription (post free). Founded in 1951, GAIRM publishes new work in poetry and the short story, folklore, musical and literary criticism, articles on current affairs and scientific topics.

PROGRESS REPORT. Readers may recall a recent comment in "CARN" regarding the work of the London-based Minority Rights Group. It had published 19 (the number is now 22) reports on minority problems in all parts of the world without apparently noticing that it had a (Celtic) problem on its own doorstep. As it appeared to be high time that we Celts were taken notice of a circular letter was prepared with the "CARN" article as a footnote. The circular was sent to numerous papers, "British", Irish, Scottish and Welsh. As a second stage the circular together with a personal accompanying letter was sent to the two dozen odd sponsors and council members of the Group. A reply was received from Mr. Jo Grimond who is M.P. for Orkneys and Shetlands and chairman of the Group's council to the effect that if evidence is produced that "Celts" in Scotland are being persecuted the council will consider the question. This has been referred to Comunn na Càin Albannaich which ought not to have too much difficulty in providing evidence of such persecution. Presumably therefore a pamphlet on the problems of Scottish Gaelic speakers can be expected in the not too remote future. It goes without saying that the Minority Rights Group can then expect to be subject to further pressure until all the Celtic countries have been included in their scrutiny.

DECLINE AND FALL: E.E.C./U.K. It will be recalled that after due deliberation and consultation with our Breton friends who had first-hand experience the Celtic League came out strongly against the Island Celts joining the Common Market. The Brussels bureaucrats have wasted little time in vindicating our cynicism with their meat mountains. We should be excused the further cynical view that the demonstrations against the import of Irish cattle are yet a further example of the old and unfortunately hitherto successful policy of setting one lot of Celts against another in the interest of continuing English hegemony. This view is in line with a recent pronouncement of Mr. Whitelaw, former 6-County Supremo, in which he indicated that the U.K. could not afford to relax the grip on its Irish bridgehead. Of course this conflicts with many earlier affirmations of readiness to comply with the expressed will of the people of "Ulster". Mr. Whitelaw clearly saw that abandonment of the Irish appendage would usher in a further process in which Britain (or more accurately Greater England) shrinks to England proper. Since Mr. Whitelaw has revealed this weak spot it is to be hoped that the Scottish and Welsh MPs will keep prodding at it. In particular they should direct their efforts to ensure that no more Scottish or Welsh soldiers are sacrificed in the English Vietnam!

BREIZH

RESISTANCE TO MILITARY ENCROACHMENTS

In Lanveur, Kerlouan, on the coast north of Brest, the French army has taken over 50 hectares of land and installed a 300 meter high aerial for the detection of submarines. This has been done with the complicity of notabilities, without consulting the people. Kerlouan is in the middle of an area characterized by its respect for every authority (with a very high percentage of votes for Gaullists). But it has also an active Breton association, Kelc'h Sevenadurel Ar Vro-Bagan. On June 10, five of its young members were charged before the Brest police court for having painted slogans on roads and walls against the grabbing of land by the army. 120 members of various organisations attended the trial. *Three of the defendants refused to speak French.* An ex-police inspector was brought in as an interpreter. It turned into a trial of the army with denunciations of its nefarious influence on the minds of its conscripts, and of its disruption of the rural economy. For the first time, the right to speak Breton in court was given factual recognition. This was hailed as a victory. But the translations were defective. Discrimination will continue until the courts become Breton institutions and trials can be conducted without interpreters.

The requirements of the French aeronaval base near Landivizio have led to a prohibition against building houses within a seven miles radius in a fairly densely populated district. Elected representatives protested (how strongly?).

The French army already occupies extensive ground in the Crozon peninsula South of Brest. It is now casting its grip further East towards Chateaulin. The Senator-mayor of Dineol and the Giscardian mayor of Chateaulin have, over the past two years, quietly agreed to let 150 acres of land, bought for industrial plans, be transformed into a military camp. They say the army will provide jobs! No word about the sociological imbalance resulting from the presence in a town of 8,000 inhabitants of an extra 1,000 males . . . The army plans now to take over 320 acres of land on Menez Kelc'h, which dominates a vast area of Western Br. Cornwall.

A committee set up to resist this cancerous growth organised a demonstration with Breton flags attended by a thousand people, at Menez Kelc'h (18 August). Numerous organisations were represented, but there were few "local personalities". Another demonstration was staged by 3,000 people in September at Ti-Voujered. Majors in neighbouring communes ordered public houses to be closed. At whose behest?

IL N'EST PIRE SOURD . . .

Each year, the University of Rennes asks the French ministry of Education to award a degree in Celtic studies which would make it possible to train teachers of Breton in the same way as teachers of French, English, German, etc. In July 1972, came the reply that it was not desirable to 'sanction' the teaching of Celtic languages by a national title, that it was in any case better to wait till the National Council of Higher Education had issued new regulations for national diplomas. In June 1973 the reply was again: wait for reforms. In July 1974, the request was dismissed because the Minister had asked that new diploma proposals should concern only certain courses (. . . which do not include Celtic studies). However, a determined student may get away with it and do some of his exam papers in

Breton. This is what a sociology student did in Rennes. The papers were officially given for translation to the lecturer for Breton, Per Denez, who also acted as interpreter in the oral test.

SKOL AN EMSAV

As readers of CARN know, this organisation gives Breton courses in a number of *centres* throughout Brittany, and brings its members together, for week-ends, to discuss, in Breton, the various problems which the Breton people must solve to regain their collective identity and a control of their future.

A meeting of the steering committee of S. an E., consisting of the executive committee appointed by the general assembly, and of regional delegates, was held at Menez Kamm (Breton Cornwall) on September 29th. The activity of previous months was reviewed and plans were made for the period ahead.

The seminars organised during the past year had been fairly successful. There were two innovations: co-operation with Kamp Etrekeltiek ar Vrezhonegerien and co-operation with the native-speakers in rural areas. KEAV had been successful this summer in attracting a great number of participants and in arranging numerous Breton classes and lectures of a high standard. Skol an Emsav is prepared to renew this co-operation provided it is orientated towards creating a Summer University, where the various tendencies of the Breton Movement could meet. But will K.E.A.V. agree?

For the first time, S. an E. has arranged for learners of Breton to work on farms: this was very satisfactory, the contacts between the "emsaverien" (people actively engaged in the Breton struggle) and the native speakers being mutually enriching. There is no study in the usual sense, but a daily exchange with the people while working. This will be developed next Summer. For Christmas S. an E. is planning a three-day session about the work to be done by the centres, including an enquiry in their methods.

The Festival of Gwengamp (CARN Nr 6) stayed too much on familiar ground; if there was a will to innovate it was not marked enough. Next year in Kastell-Pol (Leon), we shall try to get the people of the area to take a greater part than in Gwengamp, and to show in a livelier way what is happening to the Breton language and what is being done for it. We are thinking of films and projections, there may be demonstrations, and participation from other countries. That is to be proposed by SAE to other organisations involved.

This festival (GOUEL AR BREZHONEG) must provide an opening towards greater public activity. At SAE's general assembly (Gwengamp 23/5/74) 80% of the members voted in favour of actively supporting the social struggles in preference to concentrating on the education of the members.

T.L. (Skol an Emsav)

Theater in Breton. There is no dearth of plays in Breton, *Al Liamm* for instance has recently published Tangi Malmanche's 'Gwreg an Toer' and 'Marvailh an Ene Naoniek'. But they are seldom put on stage. In Paris, L. Andouard and J. Breton have shown in the past two years that it is possible to produce Breton plays at little cost. Further attempts have now been successful in Brest, Gwen-

gamp, Landeda, with the staging of P. J. Heliaz' EGILE, and Synge's "War Varc'h d'ar Mor" (Riders to the Sea). Such plays, argues Pobl Vreizh, are accessible to the ordinary Breton speakers and could contribute to the disalienation of their minds (decolonisation).

Towards a Breton Film Industry

The Breton Film Week which took place in Gwened/Vannes last Winter sought to overcome the French controle of the visual media and to help the Bretons to acquaint themselves with their situation and their cultural values by means of their own art.

One of the participating groups was the UPCB, director R. Vautier. He wants to make the Breton voice heard in the world by means of a Breton film industry presenting a true picture of our country and of its struggle. He has already made four or five films. A new one, La Folle de Toujane, is to be ready in January. As in "Vingt ans dans les Aures" much of its setting (for financial reasons which seem to thwart his basic ambition) is in North Africa. This is a long film for TV, with some scenes in Breton, depicting the life of a school teacher to whom the colonial plight of his own country is revealed by his Tunisian experience. His part is played by the singer Gilles Servat. Here, we are assured, the various aspects of the Breton problem will be frankly exposed. Vautier's teacher returns to Brittany and is driven by the magnitude of the damage caused by the Army and the Property Developers to blow himself up in a minefield. Can the Breton people not be brought to the realisation of their losses by other means than shock actions? Vautier has of course had trouble with the official film control. He succeeded, after a 31-day hunger strike in getting recognition for films of a political nature made without prior authorisation.

Everything For Rich Holidaymakers

150 farmers demonstrated with 40 tractors in the middle of harvest and drove through the streets of Pont 'n Abad in protest against a plan to promote luxury tourism which would paralyse farming in the district. The plan, submitted by property developers and backed by the mayor of Pont 'n Abad, is to build a reservoir to supply water for a projected increase in the number of holidaymakers. Arguing from public utility, it requires 160 acres of good farmland to be submerged. In order to ensure against pollution of the water, the use of fertilisers and petrol for agricultural purposes would be subject to special permits in a surrounding two square miles area. If accepted, such restrictions would handicap farmers in six communes. At present, there is enough water for the peak of the holiday season. But big developments are being planned behind the scene for this area adjoining the Odet river estuary. Expropriations have started before the enquiry as to "public utility".

This is denounced by farmers associations and by the UDB as a betrayal. They see in popular tourism (camping, staying in farm houses) no obstacle to the development of modern farming and fishing, but tourism for the rich leads to dispossession of "native workers" (for instance, yachting marinas and golf courses replace fishing harbours and farmland). In Fouenant 600 'residences secondaires' have been built on good farm land, but now the taxes collected for them fail to cover the interest on loans made by the commune for the sake of this "development". In adjoining

FOREST, promoters have (provisionally?) been stopped from building their "eighth wonder of the world" at the entrance to the harbour.

Summaries in Breton Of Some Articles

DOOMSDAY. P. Lane a voe unan eus ar re gentañ oc'h embann e veze boureviet tud harzet gant an arme saoz e Norzh-Iwerzhon. Evit e lakaat da devel e voe drouklazhet e vab. Padal, atav e striv da zegas peo'h ha darempredoù a amezegiezh en-dro etre e genvroiz, ne vern pe gredenn a ve dezho. Piv a vir ouzh an emglev? Er pennad-mañ hag en deus kinniget da g-CARN, e tisklêr ez eus ur galloud-kreiz o leviañ ar re o deus broudet d'an dizunvaniezh kerkent ha ma voe deut kreñv Emsav ar Gwirioù Keodedel. Peseurt galloud eo a atiz bremañ, pe a seven zoken, an drouklazhoù ranncredennel? Komz a ra P. Lane eus andivezegezh (amoralegezh) ar galloud-Stad. Ar galloud-se ne oa ket evit herzel ouzh emsav ar gwirioù keodedel (1969-70). Evit derc'hel krog e Norzh-Iwerzhon ha sujañ tud hag a nac'he e veli e oa ret broudañ ar Republikaned da stourm gant armoù: neuze e oa tu d'o zeurel er c'hampoù-bac'h. E-lec'h spontañ avat e voe lakaet an dud da gounnariñ. Ret mont ur c'hammed pelloc'h, reiñ da gompren d'ar re "zisleal" e rankfent plegañ ha pladiñ, peotramant . . . Setu an disklêriadur nemetañ d'an drouklazhoù ranncredennel (peurvuiañ a vez Katoliged dinoaz, micherourien hep politikerezh, eus ar re a vez diskaret). Ar vuntreien a chom digastiz. Hañval eo ne oar mui gouarnamant London petra ober, pe n'en deus ket beli war e arme. Mar deo gwir emañ an Saozon e soñj en em dennañ kuit eus, Norzh — Iwerzhon, ken koustus ha ma z eo deut an drevadenn da vezañ, ez eus da zoujañ ivez na lezfent al "Lealourien" armet — dreist ha gouest da ober un taol Culloden adarre d'ar Ouezeled. Evit c'hoazh, e tue ar brasañ droug diouzh bezañs an arme saoz. Evit sioulaat ar speredoù e rank mont kuite, Hag e ranker paouez da vac'hañ tud hep prosez. Sinit 'ta an arbedenn (petition) aozet gant HIBERNIA !

WELSH OR WENGLISH — un titl diwar skouer "Français ou Français". Ar c'hembraeg zo en arvar en abeg d'ar bern gerioù saoznek a vez degemeret ennañ dreistholl dre levezon an c'helaouennoù hag ar skingasadurioù. Arabat e vije bout chalet, eme A. ab O. gant gerioù diwar ar yezhoù klasel hag a zo boutin da galz yezhoù all (a-du on gant ar reolenn-se evit gerioù na vezont ket implijet alies, met evit gerioù a reer ganto dalc'hmat e kavan reizh aozañ gerioù nevez a orin keltiek. A.H.)—pe gerioù kemeret digant ar saozneg abaoe pell. Poent eo ren ur strivadeg "Evit ur C'Hembraeg Dereat" hag argas euzhadennou evel "bocs o fatshus" (a box of matches).

SOLUS UR

Ur skolaj a-bouez evit dazont gouezeleg Bro-Skos zo bet savet en Ostaig, Enez "Sciathanach" (saozneaet; Skye). Eno e vez pledet da gudennoù ar sevenadur gouezel dre hanterouriezh ar gouezeleg. Roet e vez rummadou kentelioù gouezeleg da Skosiz koulz ha da studieren eus broioù estren. Gordon Barr (ur c'henlabourer da g-CARN), goude bout kelennet ar yezh e Dundee, zo aet di da ren ar skol hag en deus degaset doareoù gwelloc'h da zeskiñ ar yezh eget ar re a vez graet diouto er c'hlasoù — noz dre Vro-Skos. Evit ar wech kentañ ez eus bet ur "crash course" hevlene: div eurvezh bemdez, pemp devezh ar sizhun e-pad pemp sizhun. N'eo ket hepken deskiñ ar yezh a reer eno, met

deskiñ perak derc'hel dezhi ivez. Kinnig a ra ar skol kenlabourat gant skolioù-meur Bro-Skos m'o deus c'hoant d'ober o mad eus he skiant-prenañ.

PLAID PROGRESS

Gant trec'h Gwynfor Evans ez eus bremañ tri c'hannad broadelour eus Kembre e Westminster. Koulskoude e chom an dregantad mouezhioù roet da b-Plaid Cymru peuzdigemm abaoe 1970. Kengreizet e voe ar strivadeg gant ar strollad er c'hombodoù e-lec'h ma oa gouest da c'hounit, o terc'hel kont eus skorted e nerzhioù. Ar gentel a denn ar renerien: ne dalvez ket drevezañ Strollad al Labour. Ret eo derc'hel de bennaennoù dibar ar Strollad Broadel. El lec'hioù m'en deus klasket korvoiñ (tennañ gounid eus) drouklevenez an dud gant o aferioù lec'hel en deus kollet mouezhioù.

SAOR ALBA

En dilennadeg vras e miz Here en deus bet ar Strollad Broadel 31% eus ar mouezhioù en Alba, 5% hepken nebeutoc'h eget Strollad al Labour. Daoust da se n'o deus ar vroadelourien nemet 14.3% eus ar sezioù er vro.

Ar strolladoù breizhveuriat o deus poaniet da adc'hounit darn eus ar sezioù a oa bet kemeret gant an SNP e miz C'hwevrer. Padal, e-lec'h koll en deus gounezet hemañ 4 sez nevez ha kresket e dregantad mouezhioù a 9% en holl.

Diwar goust ar Virourien eo en deus gounezet avat. Gant se e vo kadarnaet an SNP en e vennad, bezañ ur Strollad broadel, evit an holl Skosiz, ha ne bouezo ket kement war an direizhderioù kevredadel. E Kembre eo c'haorvezet kemendall. Gwynfor Evans a lavar e ranker pouezañ muioc'h war ar vroadelouriezh, ne dalvez ket klask kinnig muioc'h eget Strollad al Labour war dachenn ar reizhder kevredadel. Daoust hag e tenno renerien an daou strollad breizhat hag a genstriv en dilennadegoù d'ar "Westminster" gall kentel eus skiant-prenañ Skosiz ha Kembreiz? An UDB a zo e-tailh da lakaat ar strolladoù kleiz gall (d'ober van?) da zegemer menozioù breizhat 'zo, met daoust hag en deus spi da dreifiñ a-walc'h eus an dilennerien en tu kleiz a-du gantañ evit gounit "sezioù"? Diouzh disoc'h an dilennadeg e korn-bro Gwenrann ne seblant ket SAV kaout kalz brasoc'h chafñ da dizhout ur seurt pal. Bez'e c'heller lavarout gant gwir abeg ne dalvez ket kaout ur Stad vreizhat ma kendalc'her da gorvoiñ al labourerien enni, met peseurt goanag o deus an emrenerien da c'hounit "sezioù" — ma talvezont d'un dra bennak — keit ha ma kendalc'hor da ginnig muioc'h eget un danvezkannad emrener e pep dilennva? Piv a zisklêrio da lennerien CARN, n'eo ket pal, met kadouriezh an daou strollad?

MYTHOLOGY

Komz a ra aozourez ar pennad eus talvoudegezh ar gwengeloù e buhez ar broadoù. *Gwengel*; diwar skouer an iwerzhoneg *fionn-scéal*, zo kevatal da *myth* — en e ster kentañ. Ar gwengeloù a ziskuilh a remziad da remziad an anaoudegezh, ar meizad, ar gweled he devez ur bobl anezhi hec'h unan, eus hec'h istor hag he sevenadur. Bez'ez eus anezho danevelloù anavezet-mat gant ar bobl; evit chom bev avat e rankont bout adskrivet pe adkrouet (gant arzourien) evit pep remziad. Ar vugale ivez o deus ezhomm eus ar gwengeloù dezho da gompren darvoudoù spontus ar vuhez hep bezañ spontet re. (War urzh ministred iwerhonat zo e vez adskrivet istor Iwerzhon evit e zi-wengelekaat ha

sioulaat eneberezh paotred Kar-Bro-Saoz en hanternoz Iwerzhon e-Kefñver ar Republik).

CYMRU

PLAID PROGRESS

"Listen, London. You are hearing the sound of a nation which is regaining its self-respect. That nation will soon be regaining its freedom." "With these words, Gwynfor Evans, President of Plaid Cymru, and, once again, Member of Parliament for the Carmarthen constituency, summed up the message of his party's victory in this predominantly rural, predominantly Welsh-speaking constituency in South-West Wales.

Just over seven months earlier the possibility that Plaid Cymru would shortly hold three seats in Parliament, each with comfortable majorities would not have been taken very seriously outside the national movement itself, and even amongst committed nationalists, the pattern of Plaid Cymru's electoral advance would have taken many by surprise. Yet on reflection this pattern, so different from that in Scotland, merely reflects the unique political pattern of Welsh politics generally.

The raw statistics reveal that Plaid Cymru's total share of the vote in Wales has remained almost constant since the 1970 General Election, and has even declined slightly. The national party received in this election just under 11% of the votes cast. Whilst in 1970 this figure meant that the Plaid was third in terms of votes to the Labour and Conservative parties, last February's contest saw the Liberal party surge ahead, taking 16% of the votes, winning an extra seat, and seemingly profiting from the combination of the traditional Liberal strength in rural Wales with the spilling over the border of the apparent Liberal revival in England.

The paradox of the February election was that whilst the Liberals made a spectacular advance in terms of popular support, and succeeded in winning back the Cardigan seat which they lost in 1966, the spectacular advance in terms of seats won fell to Plaid Cymru, who for the first time were able to win seats in a General Election, and made it two, to boot, whilst throughout Wales both Plaid and the Labour party lost votes to the Liberals.

Plaid Cymru, in contrast to the Liberals, was able in February to hold and increase its support in the places where it counted; this was even more true in this last election: whilst the Liberals managed to maintain substantially the level of support which they achieved in February, the sole result was to continue to achieve respectable votes in constituencies where they had little chance of winning, whereas Plaid Cymru ensured that their effort, handicapped as it was by lack of resources, was concentrated where it would make the maximum impact, and succeeded in winning another seat.

Plaid Cymru is therefore now in a position to sit back for a moment and take a hard look at the eight years that went between the first and second times that Gwynfor Evans stood and was hailed by an exultant crowd as the victor at Carmarthen, the eight years which span the entire life of Plaid Cymru as a real political force in Wales, and to try and learn some lessons.

In that period, which includes three general elections and three by-elections including the original Carmarthen victory, Plaid Cymru has been fooled by many a red herring, lured up many a cul-de-sac, yet has miraculously emerged

unscathed and stands in a stronger position than ever before. I once heard it said that Plaid Cymru was to be admired for the long years that it had endured electoral failure without succumbing to the temptation to compromise its commitment to the essential principles of its creed, such as its aim of fostering the language, which might have been jettisoned in order to win votes. My reply was that the temptations to trim your sails to the wind are only really strong when you begin to make real headway politically and you are eager to accelerate the process. Thus, since 1966 there have been those who have held out as short cuts to success such strategies as so-called "community politics" in other words the exploitation of local grievances as a substitute for national policies, or an attempt to adopt wholesale the centralism of Labour Party socialism, turning Plaid Cymru into a Welsh Labour Party.

In the aftermath of this election we can see now, with complete clarity that there are no short cuts to the hearts of the people of Wales. In those areas where at a local level, Plaid has been most disposed to try this sort of panacea approach, the party has slipped back, since the Welsh voter is sufficiently sophisticated to distinguish and prefer the real article to some opportunistic substitute. In those areas where Plaid Cymru has stuck to the principles which are its alone and has patiently expounded those principles over the years, its setbacks have been only temporary, and ultimately lead to victory.

In the uniquely favourable situation in which it now finds itself, Plaid Cymru will no doubt heed this lesson, which is summarised in the words of Gwynfor when asked to what he attributed the triumph at Carmarthen. "We have succeeded in building the movement" he said. As long as Plaid Cymru can succeed in building itself as a movement of people inspired by and dedicated to the cause of Welsh freedom the ups and downs of electoral success will have no effect on the long term prospects of the party, and ultimate success in winning seats will surely come.

KEITH BUSH

COLEG NORMAL

Welsh student teachers in Y Coleg Normal, Bangor, have at last woken up to the fact that they are a vital part of the future of the language.

For the first time in very many years they are taking power in their own college instead of letting English students run it. This year they have elected a locally well known member of Plaid Cymru as full-time president with the stated aim of fighting moves to join Y Coleg Normal with the almost totally English Bangor University.

Perhaps now we can see more demands for Welsh medium higher education throughout Welsh Colleges, not least in Y Coleg Normal where the attitude of the Principal has too often been unsympathetic to say the least.

A call has been made by Hywel D. Roberts, the former head of the Education Department of Caerdydd training college, for a bilingual training college for the capital city.

I.S.H.

Cymry Ifanc Lloegr

"Wales at this time was a land of shepherds and hill-robbers". Dyna'r geiriau o'm llyfr hanes a ddarllenais yn yr ysgol pan oedden yn naw mlwydd oed a sydd wedi aros yn fy meddwl erbyn heddiw. Dywedodd y llyfr rhyw beth arall ynglyn â theyrnasoedd bychain, rhyfelgar a phobl

afreolus ond nid dyna oedd y ffordd yn fy marn i i ddisgrifio pobl ddiwylliedig a aeth eu gweiddiau yn ol at y dyddiau cyn yr Ymerodraeth Rhufeinig.

Yr wyf fi yn enedigol o Loegr, ar ei bron hi y magwyd fi ac yn ei chrud himi gefais fy siglo. Cymraes ddi-Gymraeg ydyw fy mam a hanner Cymro o ochr ei fam (Cymraes ddi-Gymraeg arall) a hanner Saes o ochr ei dad (ond Saes a siaradodd Cymraeg yn rhugl) ydyw fy nhad. Saesneg ydyw'r iaith gartref ac yr oedd hi'n rhaid imi fynd i wersi i ddysgu'r Gymraeg.

Treuliais pum neu chwe mlynedd mewn Ysgol Freiniol fel preswylwr (un o blentyndodau Seisnigach y gellir ei gael) ymhlith pobl y gallaf ddisgrifio agwedd rhai ohonynt tuag at Gymru yn well gyda'r geiriau "the only good thing in it is the road to England". Iddynt hwy yr oedd y Cymry yn bobl y gallent chwerthin am eu pennau — merched gyda hetiau uchel fel dynion a dynion gyda lleisiau uchel fel merched. Ar y llaw arall, ymhlith y bobl hyn yr oedd llawer yn dda, caredig a medrus ac yn ei ffordd ei hun y mae cyfundrefn yr Ysgol Freiniol yn creu llawer o bobl orau'r wlad. Ond cellwair oedd Cymru, "Cymru fach a Chymru fyw" inni, "frantic, little Wales" iddynt hwy.

Y mae'r mwyafrif o Gymry ifanc sydd yn byw yn Lloegr wedi cael eu geni yn y wlad honno. Os Cymraeg oedd iaith y cartref mae'n debyg y siaradent hi yn unig erbyn iddynt fynd i'r ysgol. Yna, ar ol cymysgu'n fwyfwy â Saeson, daeth eu Saesneg yn well a'u Cymraeg yn waeth. Mae'r mwyafrif o blant Cymreig yn cael maboed Cymreiciach nag â gefais i, ond erbyn iddynt gyrraedd yr arddegau y mae eu Cymreigrwydd yn bresennol (neu absennol) i raddau amrywiol iawn.

I rhai mae bod yn Gymro yn rhywbeth i fod yn falch ohono. Mewn dinasoedd Lloegr gallent cymysgu'n dda gyda Saeson ond cadw eu Cymraeg trwy fynd i gapel ac aelwyd a mynd i Gymru yn eu gwyliau. I rhai eraill nid ydyw bod yn Gymro yn bwysig a nid oes dim gwahaniaeth rhwng bod yn Gymro na bod yn Saes iddynt hwy. Nid ydynt yn dysgu am nid ydynt yn gweld rhym ddefnydd yn dod ohoni, Saesneg ydyw iaith arian a llawer beth arall. Ond i rhai eraill y mae bod yn Gymro'n rhywbeth i'w cadw'n ddigrl rhag cael pobl yn dy alw'n "Taffy" neu, pan ydynt yn teimlo'n anghyfeillgar, "Welsh Wog" neu "Welsh Peasant" sydd yn digwydd o dro i dro.

Efallai bod hwn yn swnio'n groes. Yr wyf wedi dweud bod rhai Cymry'n cymysgu'n dda gyda Saeson a rhai eraill yn wynebu gwatwareg am eu cenedlaetholdeb. Yr unig esboniad dros hwn ydyw fod Saeson da a Saeson drwg, fel y mae da a drwg ym mhob cenedl yn y byd. Mi fydd y Cymro'n ffodus neu anfodus gyda'r bobl ei fod yn cwrdd a nhw, ond credaf ei fod yn ffodus gan amlaf.

Effaith arall ar agwedd y Cymru ifanc yn Lloegr at eu cenedligrwydd ydyw'r bobl ifanc sydd yn byw yng Nghymru ac yma, yn aml iawn, y mae'r agendor yn agor. preswylwyr tre fi bychain a gwladwyr ydyw Cymry Lloegr, preswylwyr treifi bychain a gwladwyr ydyw Cymry Cymru. Weithiau nid ydyw hyn yn bwysig ond yn aml yr wyf yn credu ei bod hi. I awer o Gymry ifanc Lloegr y mae ieueotid Cymru yn ymddangos, nid fel tyrfa o "country bumpkins", ond fel pobl a rhyw draserch gyda "byw yn y wlad" a sefydlu byd o wasgau bychain, crochenyddion a ffermyr. I'r ymennydd "Seisnigach" neb a aethai allan o'r ddinas a'i chysuron, hwylusdodau a chyffleoedd. Y mae llawer o'r Cymry ifanc hyn yn teimlo yr aethent allan o'i cofion yn nhawelwch y wlad gyda dim byd i'w gweld ond meysydd a buchod! O'm rhan i yr wyf yn byw ar ffiniau

Caer. O fienestr ein lolfâ gellir weld nid tal eraill yn unig, ond meysydd, cced, ac ar y gorwel, mynyddoedd Clwyd a'r Berwyn. Os âf filltir a hanner i'r gorllewin yr wyf yn sefyll yng nghanol y ddinas, Os âf filltir a hanner i'r dwyrain yr wyf yn sefyll ymhlith meysydd gwyrddlas Gwastadedd Sir Gaer. Yr wyf yn hoffi'r cefn-gwlad ond yr wyf yn hoffi'r ddinas hefyd a fel llawer eraill y mae'r cefn-gwlad yn lle i ymweld â hi, ond nid i fyw ynddi.

Nid ydyw diwylliant Lloegr (ac yn y gain "hwm" yr wyf yn cynnwys y "modd o fyw") yn gyfoethocach mewn llawer ffordd na diwylliant Cymru, ond y mae yn soffyddigedicach, y mae mwy o goethder arno. Un enghraifft bach o hwn ydyw'r ffaith fod pobl y ddinas yn gwisgo'n well fel rheol ac yn treulio cymaint arall o amser a gwario cymaint arall o arian ar eu hymddangosiad na gwladwyr. Nid ydyw'r masnach nwyddau moethus ddim wedi cyrraedd y wlad yn llwyr eto.

Mater o farn personol ydyw fod gwladwyr yn hen-ffasiwn a weithau'n anhaclus, ond dyma gwahaniaeth am fod person o'r un grŵp yn teimlo allan o'i le gyda'r grŵp arall. Peth arall yw fod preswylwyr dinasoedd yn ehangach eu meddyliau na gwladwyr, nid ym mhob un wrth gwrs, ond fel rheol mai hynny'n wir.

Serch hynny, pan âi Cymro ifanc i Gymru (Cymru Gymraeg) yn aml iawn y mae ef yn teimlo'n agosach at y Cymry nag a feddyliodd y buasai ef pan oedd ef yn Lloegr. Y rheswm dros hynny ydyw bod y gall ef cymysgu a llawer mwy o Gymry Ifanc Gymraeg ag oedd yn ddichonadwy yn Lloegr. Poblogaeth canol oed a hen ydyw poblogaeth Cymry Lloegr gan mwyaf am fod digon o Gymry o bob cenhedlaeth yn cael eu Seisnigeiddio yn ystod eu ieuencid.

Y mae llawer mwy o bwys wedi cael ei rhoi ar y pentan, yr aelwyd, y cartref a'r teulu yng Nghymru nac yn Lloegr fel y mae'r cannoedd o enghreifftiau o farddoniaeth Gymraeg ar "Hiraeth" yn dangos. Nid hiraeth dros Gymru yn unig, ond hiraeth am y cartref, neu bentref, neu ardal arbennig. I'r ymennydd Seisnig y mae hwn yn dangos gulni meddwl yn fwy na chariad, a diffyg uchelgais. Mae'n rhaid i chwi gofio fy mod yn cyffredinol i raddau mawr, ond rhaid gyffredinol wrth siarad am wahaniaethau cenhedloedd. Cofiwch fod rhai lldewon yn hael a'i bod hi'n debyg fod rhai cariadon gwaethaf y byd yn Eidalwyr!

Un peth sydd yn effeithio agwedd pob Cymro yn Lloegr at ei genedl ydyw'r iaith Gymraeg a'r sefyllfa y dylasai hi ei chael. I lawer sydd wedi eu cynefino â swm y Saesneg y mae gerwindeb y Gymraeg yn taro yn erbyn eu clustiau yn hyll ac amrwd. Mewn dinasoedd masnach fawr a chysylltiadau rhyngwladol nid oes lle am iaith fach gyda dim ond 600,000 yn ei siarad.

Y mae'r agwedd yn wahanol iawn mewn pobl gwahanol, rhai yn cefnogi brwydr yr iaith heb gynorthwyo eu hunain, ond eraill yn bybyr iawn yn ei hachos — "Cymro Gorau, Cymro Oddicartref" efallai?

Ni fyddai'r anhawster hwn yn bod os gwir wlad ydoedd Cymru gwlad rhydd, parchus, llwyddiannus a chryf ei hiaith ei diwylliant. Dyma'r unig ateb i atal colled ei hieuenctid flwyddyn ar ôl blwyddyn. Mae'n rhaid i Gymry Lloegr cael sicrwydd gwlad eu hun eu tu draw i Glawdd Offa, yna try'r ymfudo i fudo a Chymru a gaiff ei hieuenctid medrus yn ôl eto.

SUMMARY: Many young Welsh people living in England face the dilemma of which nationality to adopt. Different ideas influence their decision, the feelings of the English towards Wales and the fact that Welsh has no material

value in England. The youth of Wales tend to differ from them as the basis of Welsh and English upbringings are so different; and the Welsh of England tend to be city dwellers rather than country folk as the Welsh are. The only answer to this is for Wales to regain her independence, language and culture to the full. All nationalities will then see her for the nation that she is and Wales will keep her talented youth as Welsh people no matter where they live).

A. ap O.

WELSH OR WENGLISH?

As the fight for the survival of the Welsh language has been going on, there has been an increasing concern in some quarters about the standard of Welsh being taught, spoken and written. An influx of borrowed English words must be expected, but when so many are brought in and are accepted without a bat of an eyelid, it is time to start worrying.

Greek and Latin terms must be acceptable. I fail to see any reason for bringing in a word such as "pellseinydd" ("telephone", literally "distance sounder"). The Dutch use "telefoon", the French "téléphone", the Spanish "teléfono", so the Welsh can use "teleffon". Under the fanatical influence of the Nazis, "Fernsprecher" was introduced into German, but the vast majority of Germans use "telefon" today.

Many French people are also becoming careful about their language and not long ago L'Académie Française ordered a purge upon Anglicisations and Americanisms. Unlike before when "le football" or "le ferry-boat" were perfectly acceptable, they are now grammatical errors — only "la balle-au-pied" and "le bateau-transbordeur" should be used. The everyday language of France cannot be changed overnight, but perseverance in such a policy as this will produce the desired effect after a while especially upon the following generation.

We have nothing like L'Académie in Wales, but I wonder how a "Swyddfa Gywraeg" would respond to the number of English words used by Welsh speakers. I do not merely refer to those more recently introduced or the more technical terms, simple everyday words such as "mwynhau" ("to enjoy") and "disgwyl" ("to expect") can be heard to give way to the Wenglish of "enjoyo" and "ecspectio."

Many of these words like "siop" and "wal" have been with us for some time while others such as "garej" are more recent. Welsh language broadcasts (few though they are at present) and the Welsh press are often the worst offenders as if the flood of English which sweeps across Wales daily was not enough already.

It would not be an easy task to rid our languages of these and probably the simpler words would take longer to go. To Welsh speakers some Anglicisations seem funny when pointed out (though to many English people they make the Welsh language a constant source of mirth) and it is even considered "trwyn-uchel", or snobbish, to use pure Welsh where Anglicisations are more common (eg. "dichonadwy" or "dyrysbwnc" as opposed to "posibl" or "problem"). When viewed from outside though this opinion can only be laughable and if it was not so urgent a "Respectable Standard of Welsh" campaign should come before the one for an official status.

Even certain dictionaries seem to have a preference for Wenglish. "Bresychen" (cabbage) has been replaced by

"cabaets", "gwactod" (vacuum) by "faciwn".

I think one of the main setbacks is not having a government which will care enough about the language to support a cleaning up campaign, but the main effort must come from the speakers (And the teachers, the B.B.C. in their "Welsh for beginners" seem to think that the Welsh for "uncle" is "wncwl"!). People would have a far higher regard for our language (and all the Celtic languages) if we ourselves would only give them the respect they deserve. So forget about "bocs o fatshus" from now on ("blwch o fflachennod" in Welsh in case you didn't know), it is about time our language was purged of such disasters.

A. ap O.

CYMRU GOCH

At a conference held in Abertawe in September 1973 attended by members of the former Welsh Socialist Vanguard and other socialist liberation groups operating in Wales, a new political organisation was formed under the name of CYMRU GOCH (Red Wales), in an attempt to unite under the one banner revolutionary socialists and socialist separatists of various tendencies. It is hoped that this rapprochement of these with overlapping political objectives will help us to more effectively serve the needs of the Welsh people in their struggle against imperialism.

CYMRU GOCH is an autonomous revolutionary socialist movement whose aim is to awaken the class-consciousness of the Welsh people, in order that they may organise and prepare themselves to seize political and economic control of their own nation. The movement was formed: 1) in order to provide a coherent analysis of the neo-colonial position occupied by Wales within the "British" capitalist structure; and 2) on the basis of that analysis, to formulate a strategy with which to combat imperialism as it affects us.

The machinations and anomalies associated with recent elections reveal parliamentary "democracy" to be a sham; a toy; a set of shiny switches and levers whose wires lead nowhere, set up by the capitalist establishment to deceive the people into believing they have some kind of control over their socio-political-economic situation. Cymru Goch sees no future therefore in any of the miracle cures offered by the various brands of hustlers based in Westminster; neither the mincing trendies of the so-called British left (for whom the further away and more exotic a cause is, the more worthy of support it is); nor the pale pink capitalism - with-a-cloth-cap of the Labour Party; nor Plaid Cymru's Nonconformist social-democrat devolutionism. This is not to deny that in all of the above movements, and most relevantly within the Plaid, there are known to exist good socialists who, for the want of a sound political analysis within the Welsh context, have relapsed into the comfortable mire of bourgeois parliamentary reformism.

It is not Cymru Goch's aim to see the "British" bourgeoisie in Wales supplanted by a Welsh-speaking native bourgeoisie. The only solution to Welsh problems is that sought by the oppressed peoples of the entire world. The people themselves must seize power, to set up a democratic system of society based on workers' councils, local community councils, agricultural and industrial cooperation — an entire network of working-class organisations, democratised on all levels, freely federated nationally and internationally.

In working towards this end, Cymru Goch acts not as self-appointed leaders of the struggle, but as an organisation based on the various struggles facing the people. Our

members are active in the campaigns for the rights of industrial and agricultural workers, the unemployed, tenants, the aged, homosexuals, women, Welsh-speakers, students, immigrants and so on. It is important that each oppressed section of the community sees that it is the one struggle which faces us all; and to achieve this practical political action and political education must go hand in hand.

Most recently Cymru Goch has been active in a housing campaign, involving the occupation of empty properties with the intention of alleviating the growing problem of homelessness (gweler "Y Faner", 14-6-74). Here again it is important that urban overcrowding, and the problems created by holiday homes in rural areas, are seen by activists to be part of one phenomenon, each the direct result of capitalism.

On the international level, Cymru Goch has recently participated in the publication of a "Declaration on the struggle against colonialism in Western Europe", jointly signed by ourselves, UDB (Brittany), Union do Pobo Galego (Galicia), the Irish (Official) Republican Movement and H.A.S., the Basque Socialist Party (available 24p. post free from Cymru Goch, 18 Stryd Windsor, Uplands, Abertawe, Wales). In this way we demonstrate our solidarity with the liberation struggles of the other oppressed peoples of the world. Socialist freedom and national liberation are the two inseparable ingredients of a just, democratic society. That is the true basis of international brotherhood. In the words of the oppressed working class of Chile. "¡El pueblo unido jamás será vencido!" — the people, united, will never be defeated!

Cymru Goch est un mouvement socialiste révolutionnaire qui a pour but d'éveiller le conscience de classe parmi le classe ouvrière galloise afin que celle-ci s'organise pour saisir le pouvoir politique et économique. La seule solution aux problèmes gallois est celle que cherchent les peuples opprimés du monde entier. Le peuple lui-même doit saisir le pouvoir, en fondent un système démocratique qui aura pour base des au verso commissions ouvrières, conseils communautaires locaux, coopératives agricoles et industrielles; tout un réseau d'organisation ouvrières, démocratisées à tous les niveaux de leur, racines jusqu'à leur sommet, formant des fédérations libres sur les plans national et international.

Meic Haines

SACRILEGE! When first elected Gwynfor Evans shocked the August House of Commons by taking the oath in Welsh. A further precedent of this nature was made by Mr. Donald Stewart, member for the Isles and leader of the Scottish MPs, who took the oath in Scottish Gaelic. Our congratulations to Mr. Stewart for this insistence on that degree of recognition for his very deprived language! It is to be hoped that all future nationalists MPs from whichever area of Scottish or Wales will follow his or Gwynfor's lead.

It has also been reported that the Plaid Cymru and SNP MPs are looking into the possibility of drawing up an acceptable area of agreement with the object of setting themselves up as a combined (Celtic?) parliamentary entity. This would deprive the Westminster Liberals of their existing status as the third largest party and would entail various advantages, both as regards facilities in the House of Commons and broadcasting/television entitlement. In our view these advantages, useful in themselves, would be far outweighed by the resultant psychological impact both on our own people and on the Auld Enemy.

EIRE

Internment Camps Burnt

Following some weeks of protest over conditions and food in Long Kesh camp an altercation with a warden on October 15th and the subsequent refusal to hand over those involved led to a threat by the prison authorities to bring troops into the camp. This was apparently the last straw for the Republican prisoners and they took over the whole camp and burnt huts, watchtowers and administrative buildings leaving nothing standing but two huts in which loyalists prisoners were allowed to gather. On the morning of the 16th British troops firing CS gas and rubber bullets entered the camp and battered the prisoners into subjection. Protests broke out on the streets in many places notably Derry, Belfast and Strabane. Meanwhile the prison disturbances moved to Magilligan Camp near Derry and Crumlin Road prison, Belfast. Mr. Merlyn Rees' (British Secretary of State for the North) credibility took another tumble when having assured on T.V. that only nine prisoners were injured it transpired that the figure was in fact twenty nine in Long Kesh with more injured in Crumlin Road.

End Internment Without Trial

Following an initiative by the independent fortnightly HIBERNIA, a number of leading politicians, trade unionists, Church leaders, writers and artists North and South (in Ireland), as well as international figures (e.g. Nobel Prize winner Seán Mac Bride) have signed the following resolution:

"WE ARE OPPOSED IN PRINCIPLE TO THE INTERNMENT OF CIVILIANS WITHOUT TRIAL. We also believe that internment in Northern Ireland, now 3 years in operation, is both a continuing cause of violence and a primary obstacle to the success of peace initiatives. For these reasons we call for the immediate release of all internees in Northern Ireland."

We advise our members to take part in the Hibernia campaign by signing and asking others to sign this resolution, and by forwarding the result to END INTERNMENT CAMPAIGN, 206 Pearse St., Dublin 2, BEFORE THE END OF NOVEMBER.

If you have doubts about supporting this campaign, write to that address for a copy of the HIBERNIA supplement (August 9, 1974) and enclose an "international coupon-response" for postage.

A well attended public meeting whose platform represented many different viewpoints was held in the Mansion House, Dublin on October 16th. (Coincidentally enough, though planned well in advance) as part of the campaign.

O'Brien's Bluster

The burning of Long Kesh and to a lesser extent perhaps, the 'Hibernia' campaign and Mansion House meeting prompted the R.T.E. television current affairs programme '7 DAYS' to devote two half hour programmes to reviewing the introduction of internment and to showing sequences from the Mansion House meeting followed by a discussion on internment. This programme proved to be a little too close to the bone for Cruise-O'Brien (Minister for Posts and Telegraphs — responsible for RTE and spokesman on all things), fresh from an endorsement of his policy on the North at the

(continued p.23)

DOOMSDAY

"Come, Let us make a muster speedily:

Doomsday is near; die all, die merrily".

The words of Hotspur in 'Henry IV' are relevant to N. Ireland today, although there is a total absence of any cause for merriment.

The words have their origin in a civil war power struggle, and the troubles here are basically about the maintenance of that same power and the overthrow of forces which tend to erode it.

In a previous paper I attempted to show where this power resides and re-iterate briefly that it resides with the Executive in England and not with the Legislature at Westminster. The latter has control of the laws and social changes and the general running of the national economy (the housekeeping budget) but the executive controls the power (the bank balance).

The course of history in these islands shows a central and continuous effort directed to maintenance of power and this is what rebellions, wars and diplomacy have been all about. From the nature of power, moral considerations do not enter into its acquisition or maintenance. Diplomacy or ruthlessness are used as the occasion demands, if they are deemed to be the appropriate weapon. This point is not made by way of condemnation specifically of British Power. The argument is applicable to all power blocs and their struggle for continuance.

There is no reason to think that 'enlightenment' or a change of heart have suddenly come about at any time during this century and that the theme mentioned above does not still run through contemporary affairs. Indeed, it would appear that from the point of view of the ordinary inhabitant of the globe, the world is a much crueller environment than it was some centuries ago, despite enormous advances in science and technology.

A brief look at the history of N. Ireland over its half a century life, will show how the thread of power ran and still runs.

Industrial effort here based largely on the linen, textile and shipbuilding industries, changed gradually to an alternative dependence on such activities as the new man-made fibre production, of which N. Ireland is now said to be fourth in position in world output. This is in no small measure due to the presence of a docile labour force. There has scarcely been a strike of note and the trade unions are an impotent force. A carefully set-up Unionist Government was cosseted by a deliberate blind-eye approach to ensure that the working labour force remained dormant and rejected any liberal thinking that might be thrown out by an occasional Northerner like James Connolly. Discrimination and sectarianism were necessary weapons as the nationalist minority community — conveniently identifiable as Catholic — rejected the state and its institutions. Adverse comment from outside was avoided by making a convention that the affairs of N. Ireland were not open for discussion at Westminster and this state of affairs existed until 1968.

The lid came off with the growth of the Civil Rights Movement in 1968/69.

This should have been anticipated by the powers-that-be as the movement was global and was making itself felt in the streets of France and in the campuses of American Universities and elsewhere. Even though the case of discrimination and social injustice was accepted and proved, the movement was countered by a behind-the-scenes pro-

vocation of sectarian reaction. There is no doubt that this was deliberately aided if not instigated by British Power. There were many instances where local rabble-rousers many of whom are by now prominent politicians could have been made subject to the law on charges of incitement or sedition but they seemed to be working under legal immunity. An attempt was made to blame the underground Republican Movement — the I.R.A. — an organisation ticking over from the days of the Independence struggle in the South, and depending for its existence on the dedication of its members, who cannot have been many, and on ill defined sympathy among some of the minority, chiefly in the Catholic gettos. At about this time its strength, such as it was, was depleted by a split into two wings roughly Republican Separatist and Republican Socialist.

The early success of the Civil Rights movement was countered by the advent of sectarian clashes in 1969. There is little doubt but that the hidden power found a few local willing tools able to foment this outburst and bring it about. The people of Hooker Street and Palmer Street, having co-existed as neighbours for years, suddenly found themselves to be enemies.

As was foreseen at the time, the I.R.A. used the sectarian violence to further its own fortunes and did so successfully and an intangible force of 'civil rights' ideas threatening power was converted into a physical one which could be met by physical means. World opinion was assuaged by the sight and word of British Forces laudably keeping the peace in the streets of Ulster. To most of the minority, however, the reality is otherwise. After a brief honeymoon (the word of Gen. Freeland) the campaign began — the one sided harassment, one sided searching and seizure of arms and a one sided use of the courts and legal machinery, culminating in one sided interrogation and torture and internment. It had the desired effect of increasing the strength of the I.R.A. and polarising the struggle to one that could be met with by well tried conventional methods. Two miscalculations were made. Firstly the resistance was being put up by guerilla forces which were motivated only by dedication to their cause and had little or nothing to lose (a dedication which cannot be appreciated by those who 'have'). Secondly the details of torture and interrogation have become public knowledge and are now the subject of charges against Britain at the European Commission of Human Rights.

Miscalculation has meant that N. Ireland has now endured a horror about as long as each of the world wars with no end in sight. Tactics have had to change. It was felt that if the I.R.A. tactics caused sufficient horror their ultimate strength — the ghetto sympathy — would melt away. This did not happen even after the disastrous bloody Friday episode. I cannot explain why this and other horrors and intimidation have not caused this rejection. Perhaps there is a rough decision in favour of the lesser of two evils or a more intelligent assessment of cause and effect among the people with very little to lose than among those whose judgement is influenced by position or privilege.

A large part of the horror has been a steady stream of sectarian killings coming in definite waves indicating a carefully planned pattern.

I do not believe that these are perpetrated as such by one community on the other. It is not in the nature of ordinary humanity even when banded into secret sectarian terrorist groups to act thus on such a scale. It is true that communities at each others throats can indulge in severe violence

culminating in murder, as happened in 1969 and has happened recently on a wide scale in Cyprus. These episodes are invariably self limiting if only through exhaustion and no communities are capable of sustaining such hate to continue assassinations for several years.

There is no doubt that some psychopaths capable of an occasional killing may be on the loose, or some, motivated by a score to settle, may also strike. The steady and relentless stream, however, with peak waves occurring in the early autumn when the tensions of the summer marching seasons have died down, point to a central guiding hand controlling the assassin. Morality, or even emotion do not enter into the calculations. Ostensibly the choosing of the victim does not make sense. The usual victim is an innocent labourer or tradesman. The message, however, would seem to be that the general public and especially the minority community must conform or else. Perhaps, there will be minor concessions such as nominal power sharing at local level in return for conformity. In the old days the situation of dealing with a threat to power would be met with a Culloden and Highland extermination manoeuvre, but the pressure of world press and T.V. cameras would now preclude this here. It is only an Eastern power bloc would employ such a measure nowadays, where they are prepared to ignore world opinion.

In terms of human suffering and terror the long drawn out effort is as bad as if not worse than the quick massacre.

I do not suggest that the terrorist groups on both sides are not capable of, or have not committed, outrages on their own initiative. They are, however, carrying all the blame in the propaganda exercise. There can be no doubt that all the organisations have been infiltrated by the Secret Service machine. It is probable that many, if not most of the killings emanate from this source through the use of Agent provocateurs or through unfortunates on whom there is a hold, for some other serious crime. Inklings of this situation came out in the Littlejohn and in the Baker affairs. Another pointer is that the killers seem to be able to work with impunity in spite of the heavy presence of security forces checkpoints and up to date radio communication. On the other hand free-lance murders e.g. those motivated by robbery are often caught and brought to justice.

The latest move in the dismal picture is that the terror has now been taken to the innocent civilian population of England. Motivation for this by a terrorist organisation is illogical and irrational. One result which is not to the benefit of the terrorist organisations is that the British public is now conditioned to accept a much tighter control of "law and order" and encroachment of individual rights. If the necessity arose, the death penalty could be re-introduced overnight without much dissent.

Disclosures in evidence reported at trials in England would suggest that again there is collusion between infiltrators and young misguided dedicated members of the I.R.A. who are induced to travel over and wreck havoc in England. The ease with which many are picked up straight away suggests that their actions and the possible results are known before they start. The usual speed of arrest contrasts strangely with the average delay in the case of ordinary criminal acts where a large section of the police force may be extended for a considerable time.

This assessment of the Northern scene is not given by way of condemnation of Britain only. Any power structure will act in similar fashion. France and Spain are indulging in similar measures against minorities, where the activities

of the Bretons and the Basques, threaten the integrity of central power.

It is only if my thesis is accepted that the dreadful evil of internment can be understood. A child could tell that its declared purpose to confine terrorists and deter others is just nonsense. It is there to stay until the minority community get the message. The archives show that indefinite confinement in the prison bulks of the Medway successfully extinguished the remnants of Gaelic culture of the Scottish Highlands following the '45 rebellion. The weapons of power do not change with time and the measures to retain it are immune from all appeals to reason or humanity. This has always been so in man's history.

What can we do in this situation? It is of little help to engage in idle condemnation of any or all of the parties involved. We are all involved by our existence here. Wide discussion is necessary to understand the problem. My own view is that all efforts of reasonable men should be directed to mobilising public opinion to press for the complete departure of British power from our shores so that we can live in peace and with justice and harmony. It will mean that on our own we will have less affluence but life should be adequate for all.

This may be regarded as a dream. I would counter by saying that the present and the alternative is a nightmare.

J. P. LANE

Labour Party Conference

The annual conference of the junior partner in the Coalition was held in mid-October in Galway. No drastic changes in policy occurred — not that such were expected. The majority of delegates endorsed the continuance of the party in Coalition with Fine Gael and seemed satisfied with the performance of the five Labour ministers (for Health and Social Welfare, Labour, Posts and Telegraphs, Industry and Commerce, Local Government) — not that any of them had achieved or even promised to try to achieve so-called party policy. Instead of nationalising Ireland's mines all that was promised was the guarantee of a smelter with majority state control. In place of the promised extended National Health Scheme (postponed in the face of opposition from the doctors) nothing but platitudes. And instead of a policy to tackle basically the housing crisis and soaring mortgage interest rates, a minor long overdue reform to make local politicians declare their financial interests. Generally in the face of the choice given from the platform — 'break the Coalition and you'll have Fianna Fail back again' — a defeat for the radical wing of the party and a further reminder that Ireland's Labour Party is really basically conservative.

Cuairt ar an mBriotain

Ní raibh againn ach an choicís. Marach go raibh cara nó duine aitheantais romhainn chuile áit a ndeachamar is cinte nach bhfeicfeadh nó nach gcloisfeadh muid an oiread agus a chonaic agus a chuala. O tháinigearmar gur fhágamar níor casadh orainn ach daoine gnaoiúla, geanúla. Bhí sórt cion aisteach againn ar an 'Monsoor'í fhéin, nár choinnigh na leapacha dúinn a bhí curtha in áirithe dúinn i St. Malol Taréis cúpla lá a chaitheamh sa gcathair álainn, ársa sin chuamar go Nantes. Bhí drogall orainn í a fhágáil ar chor ar bith. Ní fhéadfadh muid samhlú go mbeadh rud ar bith romhainn in áit ar bith eile níos aoibhne ná fontaisí na sean-

chathrach sin a thug dubhshlán na Fraince agus na Briotáine tráth. Ní raibh sé éasca imeacht on áit ná ón gcomhlúadar. Bhíomar faoi dhraíocht ag trá agus ag farraige faoi scaladh gréine, ag na bialanna beaga gleoite ina raibh scoth an fhiona agus an bhia cladaigh ag phraghas réasúnta agus ar ndoigh ag féile agus ag ceol Gweltas agus a mhuintire amuigh ar oileáinín farraige.

Thoghamar Nantes mar gur ann abhí cruinniú bliantiúil na Comhdhála Ceiltigh. Is eol do chách céard abhí faoi chaibidil ag an eagrais ansin i mblíana. Chuamar chuig na léachtaí agus chuig na díospóireachtaí chuile lá. Pléadh chuile ghné de throid na dtíortha Ceilteacha ar son a gcultúr. Rud ar bith a d'fhág na cainteoirí oifigiúla ar lár bhí neart i láthair a chuir ar a súile dóibh sách scioptha é. Anseo don chéad uair a mhothaíomar fuinneamh agus teacht aniar na 'Gluaiseachta Briotánaigh' — go cultúrdha agus go polaitiúil. Ní gluaiseacht aontaithe í sa méid go bhfuil a lán grúpaí agus scoilteanna inti ach sé manadh soiléar chuile dhiagram acu 'Tír agus Teanga'. Cé go mbíonn siad ag roinnt na hónora le chéile — ag samhlú coimeádachta agus chuile pheaca polaitiúil eile le chéile — tá an status quo ar aon intinn futhu go léir — go bhfuilid réabhlóideach, contúirteach — agus táthar i gcónaí san áirdeall orthu. Na micléinn is mó abhí i láthair ar an ócáid seo, rud a mbeifí ag súil leis, ó tharla gur ar láthair lolscoile abhí an seimínear. Ní bheadh aon bhreithiúnas cruinn a'm cé mhéad de na feiliméaraí beaga nó de oibrithe na monarcán, (lena dtacaíonn na dreamanna seo, agus a maíonn siad a dtacaíocht san) a bheadh pairteach sa ngluaiseacht ch tá a fhios gam rud amháin, agus cruinniú dá shaghas sa tír seo ní bhfaighfeá an méid céanna daoine óg ag labhairt agus ag troid ar son na teangan dúchais. Níl aimhreas ar bith ná go gcuireann an cosc iomlán ar an teanga sna scoileanna faobhar ar a bhfeirg agus ar a ndiogas. Taobh amuigh de seo ar fad tá anailís chruinn déanta acu ar an gceangal idir cultúr agus polaitíocht. Bhí grúpa amháin inar chuireas spéis faoi leith — Stourm Breizh — nach bhfuil rófhada ar an saol. Ainrialaithe iad sa méid agus gur fuath leo maorfhathas de chineál ar bith. Tá polasaithe foirfe acu agus tarraingíonn siad straitéisí síochánta agus a mhalairt chucu fhéin le cogadh a chur ar an stát agus ar an gcóras atá ag plúchadh a muintire. Luaighim go spéisialta iad mar gur fachtas dom go raibh tuiscint faoi leith acu ar leatrom agus ar dhúshaothrú na mban agus ar fhadhbanna cultúir agus timpeallachta nach mbíonn go minic ag dreamanna eile den chinéal seo. Lean an díospóireacht ar aghaidh oícheanta — go neamhfhoirmealta ar ndó — ag na fleánna ceoil i gclós mór chaisléan na nDiúc mBriotánach, áit a raibh na mílte ag damhsa agus ag pléaráca agus ag éisteach leis an sárcheol agus amhránaíocht as na tíortha Ceilteacha uilig. O thús deire bhí an súgradh agus an dáiríre fite, fuaithe ina chéile. Ag deire na seachtaine bhí an aoibh cheart orainn le haghaidh na háite ar a raibh ár naghaidh anois — Menez Kam. Anseo i seanáras mná -uaisle a d'fhág é ag an ngluaiseacht abhí seimínar an Chonradh Cheiltigh fhéin. Sa gceantar álainn tuaithe seo chaitheamar seachtain fiontach ag foghlaim Briotáinise (a dhath ar éigin), ag freastal ar chainteanna ar stair agus ar fheiliméarach, ar fhadhbanna eacnamaíochta agus síosialta, ag ól fíona, ag caint, ag ceol agus ar ragairne. Ní dhéanfaimid dearmad go deo ar an bhFest Noz ag teach feilme agus an seanfhear agus a chara ag casadh Kan ha Diskan, ná ar na turais timpeall an cheantair nx ar a lxn eile nach féidir a roimh anseo. Beimid arais.

Caitlín Maude

Nuacht on Bhriotain

Tionóladh an dara comhdháil bliantúil den phairti "Strollad ar Vro" i Pondivi go luath i mí Meitheamh. Bhí lucht molta stáit feidearálach ar an eite chlé, agus neamhspleáchais i gcursaí riaracháin, chun tosaigh ag an gComhdháil; thart ar leath-chéad duine a bhí i láthair.

Dúirt Aire Phoist agus Telegraf na Fraince nach gceadófaí seoltaí i mBriotáinis ar litreacha a chuirtear tríd an bPost laistigh den mBriotáin fhéin.

Bíonn Aifrin go rialta i mBriotáinis i mbreis agus 80 paróiste sa bhFairche Kemper-Leon (Finistere), agus timpeall an méid céanna i bhFairche Gwened (Morbihan).

Chuaigh an Confederation Française des Travailleurs céim eile ar aghaidh i mbunú Chonascadh Briotánach de na ceardchumainn atá aca i gceithre cinn de na réigiúin (Depts) sa mBriotáin. Seasann an CFDT do bhainistíocht faoi stiúir na noibrithe agus tugann sé aitheantas don Bhriotáinis. Tá sé toilteanach go mbeadh cabhair á fáil ag lucht stailce ó coistí tacaíochta ón dtaobh amuigh san áit a bhfuil an CGT, faoi cheannas na gCumannach, ina choinne seo. D'áitigh an CGT ar na stailceoirí i Pederneq agus Lanvallon bratach na Briotáine a tharraing anuas ach dhiúltaigh baill an CFDT é a dhéanamh.

Cad is fiú Chomhairle Réigiúnda? Tá cáinfhaisnéis de 37 Milliún Francs votálaithe do Chomhairle Réigiúnda na Briotáine (4/5 den tír); do ghnóithe eacnamaíochta amháin a bheidh an tairgead seo ag dul. Chuir DIHUN, conascadh de ghrupaí cultúrtha a bhfuil 15,000 baill aige, iarratas isteach go dtabharfaí 5% den tsuim le haghaidh cur chun chinn chultúir na Briotáine. I miontuairiscí an Chomhairle níor luadh an t-iarratas fiú amháin.

KERNOW

Defending the English

It will seem strange to find such a title above an article in a Celtic nationalist publication. Subscribers to this journal who feel the English yoke lying heavy on their shoulders will be tempted to read no further. That the secretary of a national organisation in a Celtic country should write these words may suggest heresy — but I make no apology for them.

I must at once explain that I am going to write of my new understanding of one particular aspect of English thought — an understanding that arises from sadness at the insensitivity of friends.

We hear continually the cry for the recognition of the status and aspirations of Wales and Scotland, we hear them described as the TWO re-emergent nations of Britain. We see them supporting each other in their struggles and in their condemnation of the English disregard for national minorities in Britain. But, by national minorities, they mean and say Scotland and Wales and loud are their cries and bitter their denunciation of a land that ignores them because they are outnumbered by 10 to 1 and by 20 to 1 respectively. In Cornwall our feeling of resentment at their treatment is sincere, we re-echo the complaint of our Celtic

brothers — but are Scotland and Wales aware that we are here? They seem to say, "Cornwall has less than 1/10th the population of Scotland and less than 1/4 of people of Wales — do we really NEED to acknowledge their nationality? Can they not, as an insignificant minority, be included in our concept of England?" One could be forgiven for saying that England is to Scotland as Scotland is to Cornwall as a comment on England's lack of concern for Scotland's claims.

Let us look to an example and visit the Oxford Union. Time — Trinity Term 1974: the debate — the validity of Celtic nationalism. Among the speakers were a prominent Plaid Cymru former M.P. and a hardly less prominent Scottish Nationalist M.P. "Why is Scottish nationalism valid?" asked the Scot. "Because, whereas every Scotsman knows he is a Scot, a citizen of Yorkshire or of Cornwall could not have a valid nationalism as he knows himself to be English!!!" The Welshman turned not a hair!

In Welsh Nationalist circles much is written of the "two Celtic nations of Britain," and we know Kernow is not the other country in the writers mind. We have to do better than this if we are to win — those of us who have the position of larger minorities in these countries must cherish the rights of their smaller brethren.

Today is June 27th, the anniversary of OUR hero — OUR Owain Glyndwr, OUR Bonnie Prince Charles. As I write, we celebrate the martyrdom day of our own Myghal Josef an Gof, the leader, in 1497, of the last foreign army to reach and threaten London. "I will leave a name immortal and a fame permanent and immemorial!" cried Myghal as he was drawn to his execution at Tyburn in the city that Charles Stuart failed to reach by 120 miles and whose authority Owain Glyndwr challenged from the rocky fastnesses of his own land. Myghal Josef, the Cornish smith, was to die opposing the right of a renegade Welshman, Henry Tudor, to impose taxes to finance his fight against our brother Celts of Alba. As the biggest man from the smallest nation of the mainland of Britain he was able to strike a blow for all the Celts.

It is unfortunate for us, the descendants of an Gof, that we have to see ourselves ignored by those countries who thus unwittingly defend an English point of view. The defence is not planned but it is nevertheless real and it puts the strongest of weapons in the hands of an administration that believes that if we are ignored we will go away. We fear that if this attitude is not changed Celts will connive at Celtic extinction. And if Cornwall should fall because of Celtic indifference, Keltia will fall, for it will have wantonly shrugged off a constituent part: and the age-old taunt that Celts do not unite even in a good cause will ring forever true.

LEONARD TRURAN

(Secretary of Mebyon Kernow and President of Cornish Branch of Celtic League)

"The Cornish Language and its Literature", by P. Berresford Ellis, £4.50 is to be published on November 21st by Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London.

42 students of Cornish were successful in examinations set up this year by the Cornish Language Board. 5 of them obtained honours in Grade III and 9 pass in Grades II and I in spoken Cornish.

The general election results in Mid-Cornwall were disappointing for Mebyon Kernow. Dr. Whetter's vote fell from 850 (in February) to 386. M.K. takes heart from SNP and Plaid Cymru successes: "We will fight every election till we win," said Dr. Whetter.

He stood for measures in favour of the Cornish economy; full school courses in Cornish language and history; devolution of powers to Cornwall as a distinct region; the fostering of the stronger links with the other Celtic countries, particularly Brittany.

IN FAVOUR OF JOINING WALES. At its meeting on May 8, the Cornish branch of the Celtic League decided that it would do everything possible to press for an elected Cornish Assembly with authority to control Cornish finance, resources and services. If this is not obtained, it will appeal to the Cornish people to seek integration with Wales when this country gets its own assembly. A mini-public opinion poll carried out by the Branch showed that many would rather see Cornwall joining with Wales rather than staying as at present.

Mr. Roy Green, who has over the year done so much to promote the Celtic League in Cornwall has taken up a job in Greifswald, East Germany. We wish him good luck!

An Guntelles Keltek — 1974

Yma mur a daflow dydhan a dhur y'gan cof warlergh an seythen varthys-na yn Nawned. Un dra, nag yu an lyha, yu splander an howl; del yller bos, kewer dek yu gweres ow mentena clewes a gescowethyans. Rak, dathel kyn fe, nyns esa stryf ha ny ow kewsel yn kever an mater deantel-na, polytyks a'y anow.

Defnyth an Guntelles a vu gwryow megyansek an powyow keltek ha'gan towl o gul anedha dysquedhyans dhe dhylllo arak an bys. Try fonvos a sordyas: caletterow a drelya an arethyow yn peswar yeth mayth esa pup cam byhan skyla rak dathel hep ken; ena an dus, nag o oll ysyly whath dhe'n Guntelles, mes neb a vynna unsel dyspletia aga thybyansow aga honen hep amendyans, hag a hevelly bos parys dhe ranna an cuntellyans yn un wul yndella; tressa, yth esa tus yn mysk agan ysyly na grysy bos res gwryow cyvyl rak scodhya 'gan megiansow. A'y wosa, namnag en-ny oll unwer, ha dysquedhyans a vu dyllys wosteweth. Bytegens, del wodher yn-ta, nyns esa saw un paper-nowethys ow cul deryvadow gwyw a'n cuntellyans. Grassyn dhe'n 'Times'.

Mars esen-ny ow kewsel orth agan honen yn unyk, brassa ran an prys, sowynyans dres eghen vu yn nep cas. Ragofvy, lowena vur o derybyna mar lyes pobel, gorow ha benow, yowynk ha los. Kescowethyans yth esa warbarth hag an yl gans y gyla. Dres ken an noswythyow, ha golyow musyk ha dons, a dhysquedhas fatel yl bos agan muvyans onen rak tus a vyn gwaya gans an termynow.

Da o genen cafos skyans ha kescodhevyans abarth Kernow gans an Geltyon erel. Dyogelet an unsys a'gan poblow o trygys pell genen. Devedhys tre, ervyrys o pup huny dhe wul moy. An re-na a dhe dhe'n guntelles nessa a wra gweles mar qurussyn synsy agan fay.

BLEW MELEN

(The Cornish representatives to the Celtic Congress in Nantes have many happy memories. They were pleased to note the essential amity of the Celtic peoples, and returned home determined to achieve more in Cornwall before the next Congress, to be held in their country).

MANNIN

MANN AND IRELAND

English people who know anything about Mann sometimes bracket the island along with Ireland, a tendency which in recent years has caused much anxiety in Manx ruling circles — particularly among those involved in the tourist industry. After some recent incidents attributed to Fo Halloo, a Manxman visiting England was wryly amused to hear from a Liverpool taximan that Mann was rapidly becoming like north-eastern Ireland.

Official Manx anxiety about the slightest whiff of Manx involvement in the Irish struggle has been increased by the recent story in the London "Sunday Times" that leading members of the Provisional I.R.A. have been using Mann as a "rest centre". The story was denied at some length by Manx police and government officials. People I talked to on the island about the affair thought that the "Sunday Times" reporter who wrote the I.R.A. story had been the unfortunate victim of a tall-story-teller in a Ramsey bar.

A more specific incident linking Mann and Ireland was the protest made by some crew members of an Isle of Mann Steam Packet Company vessel against their company's action in allowing a "Loyalist" organisation to charter the ship for a day trip from Belfast to Douglas in August. Strangely enough, the Manxmen who protested were annoyed by remarks, made by the Irishmen, which were disloyal to the British. It was alleged that day-trippers from the Loyalist Prisoners and Detainees Welfare Council boasted to the Manx crew about how many British soldiers they had shot. It seemed that first reports exaggerated the support the protest against the charter had among the Manx crew. Some crew members were reported as being worried about possible reprisals when the ship went to Belfast again.

None of this amounts to much when compared with the repression and suffering going on in Ireland. But, as the editor of the Isle of Mann "Examiner" said: "The Isle of Mann likes to have itself considered as a friendly neutral to all concerned, not only in regard to situations like Ulster but even industrial confrontations in Britain. Non-involvement is the name of the game for the Isle of Mann. But the game might be up now."

Brian Mac Stoyll

FO HALLOO. Copies of back issues (1974) of this roneo-typed bulletin have reached us. Fo Halloo means Underground. Mannin boasts self-government, yet it seems that property speculators are allowed to buy so much of the land and resell it at such prices that "in time not one Manxman will own one inch of the Island" (prophecy). Prominent members of the House of Keys are involved in this sell-out? The drafting of a bill to tax speculators' profits is entrusted unwittingly to a speculator? Who wants that kind of freedom for the Celtic countries?

MANX BRANCH. Miss Patricia Bridson (address on back page) has undertaken to reorganise the Manx branch of the Celtic League. She will be assisted by a committee including Mr. J. Irving, chairman, Mr. L. Crellin, Mr. and Mrs. K. Clague and Mr. R. Collville.

The Annual General Meeting of the Celtic League will be held next year in the Isle of Man.

In our articles in Manx, we have hitherto used a spelling devised by Brian Mac Stoyll which enables those familiar with Irish and Scottish to read them without difficulty. As we now expect a good increase in our Manx readership, we shall use the traditional spelling. But space permitting, we would like to retain the other one for a while at least for the benefit of our Irish and Scottish readers.

Ashoonaghys Albinagh as yn Reihys Goaldagh

(Although consigned to a premature grave by many political commentators in 1970, the SNP is now in a position of really influencing the speed with which power is switched from London to Edinburgh).

{Va Sheshaght Ashoonagh ny hAlbey currit er bun sy vlein
{Bha Seiseacht Aisiunach na hAlba curait er bun sa bhlein

{1934, agh cha dug monney sleigh geill da'n Cheshaght (yn
{1934, ach cha dug mona slaigh geill da'n tSeiseacht (an

{SNP) derrey jeh bleaney er dy henney. Cha dooar yn SNP
{SNP) dera deich bliana er do shoine. Cha d'fhuair an SNP

{agh 0.8% jeh ny voteyn ayns 1959—agh lurg yn reihys
{ach 0.8% de na votan anns 1959 — ach lurg an roigheas

{s'jerree she yn SNP yn cheshaght s'troshey lurg yn Cheshaght
{s' deiridh se an SNP an tseiseacht s' troise lurg an tSeiseacht

{Obbree ayns Naibin, rere ny voteyn. As ayns bree as spyrryd
{Oibri anns nAlbainn, reir na votan. As anns bri as spiorad

{ec yn traa t'ayn, she yn SNP yn cheshaght smoo. Ga dy ghow
{ec an tra t'ann, se an SNP an tseiseacht s' mu. Ga do ghabh

{yn SNP soieagyn veih ny Thoreeyn yn keayrt shoh as gyn
veih
{an SNP soigheagan bhaigh na Toraian an cuairt seo as gain
bhaigh

{ny "Sostnee" elley, hug yn SNP agle vooar er yn Cheshaght
{na "Sostnai" eile, thug an SNP eagal mhur er an tSeiseacht

{Obbree. As nish ta'n cheshaght shen aarloo dy smooinght er
{Oibri. As nis ta'n tseiseacht sein arlu do smuineacht ar

{red v'ad coontey y ve traidcorys roish nish — cur pooar
(beggan?)
{rud bh'ad cunda a bhe treaduras rois nis—cur pur (began?)

{da Dunedin. Hooar yn SNP un toieag jeig ayns Kiare as Feed
{da Dun Eideann. Fhuair an SNP un tsoigheag deag anns Cear
as Fid

{Westminster. Foodee dy re red mie eh nagh dooar ad tooilley
{Westminster. Fodai do ne rud maith e nach d'fhuair ad tuile

{ta deiney ennagh ayns Lunnin fuirraght rish yn laa vees ad
abyl
{ta daoine einneach anns Lunain fuireacht ris an la vios ad
abal

{dy scoltey yn SNP edyr yn skian jesh as yn skian toshtel.
{do scolta an SNP eadar an scian deis as an scian toisteal.

Brian Mac Stoyll 27/10/74.

Breton Agriculture To-day

(The author of this article remarks that, when foreign farmers come on a study tour of Brittany, they are often shown only the flattering aspects of the Breton agriculture. They should not be satisfied with what agricultural advisers show them but, in order to get a balanced view they should also meet members of the farmers unions. Figures given here were obtained from the Chamber of Agriculture for "Region Brittany" and thus exclude the Loire-Atlantique department).

Brittany is one of the leading agricultural regions of the French State. Her production was 9% of the French total in 1972, while the population of the 4 departments is only about 5%. In value, Brittany supplies 14% of the French animal production. 9.6% of the "French" farms are in the "Breton" region, but they cover only 6.3% of the used agricultural land. The fact that the Final Agricultural Production had, in the 1967-1972 period, increased in Brittany by 17.6% (in value expressed in "Francs constants" as compared to 14% for all of France) gives an idea of the progress achieved.

Breton vegetables and fruit accounted for 21% in the French export of such products. The area sown with maize (for fodder) increased ten-fold from 1962 to 1972. 11.2% of the French cattle herd are held by Breton farmers, who in 1971 supplied 10.9% of French beef. In 1972 they were leading in milk production with 13.8% of the French total (as compared to 8.9% in 1955). Pig production more than trebled since 1950, but only 30.2% of this was processed in Brittany (representing 14.2 of this activity in France). Brittany leads also in chicken and egg production.

COOPERATIVES. The Breton cooperatives are very powerful, the two biggest being COOPAGRI (Landerneve) and UNICOPA (which unites small cooperatives). They collect 29.5% of the milk in the 4 departments; their dairies are concentrated and the most important of their kind in France. Brittany is now competing hard with the Alps in the production of Emmenthal cheese; the cooperatives are starting to make Cheddar for the "British" and Irish markets; their poultry and egg productions amount respectively to 27.5% and to 24.5% of the French total.

DYNAMISM. During the past ten years, the Breton farmers have proved quite dynamic. Beef cattle increased by 41%, milk cows by 17%, pigs by 179%. Breton animal production is assuming an ever increasing role: in 1960 it represented 76% of the region's final agricultural production but by 1972 it was 87%. From 1967 to 1971 there was a 52% increase of production in terms of value.

DIFFICULTIES. But the Breton agriculture faces enormous difficulties. A major handicap is the distance from consumers markets. Producers risk following the processing factories which in the past decade shifted towards Paris. Thus many factories canning peas and beans in Southern Brittany had to close when big farmers in the Paris area and Picardy went over to these productions. If present protests resulted in establishing meat and milk prices, a similar shift could well happen in animal production. (Hence the demand in Brittany for allotting certain productions to each region).

The Breton agriculture must adapt itself to the EEC framework. An impressive attempt has recently been made by the Societe d'Interet Collectif Agricole (SICA) of Kastellpol which bought boats for export to Britain. But only a minor section of our agriculture involving industrial farming is concerned in this venture.

The Common Market did not improve the lot of the Breton farmers. Decision making is increasingly outside the control of the region. The industrial member-nations are imposing a cheap food policy so as to keep down workers' wages and thus improve their chances to compete at world level. To this the USA reacted in July 1973 by putting an embargo on soya exports; the entire cattle industry of Brittany was thereby endangered; since then, fodder prices have increased terribly.

The Breton farmers suffer perhaps from greater difficulties than their other colleagues in the EEC. They contracted debts in order to achieve the progress outlined above. When calculating their cost prices they often find that they have worked for an income lower than the SMIC (Minimum Inter-professional Growth Wage) and even at a loss, as happens now due to the slump in cattle prices.

But there are big differences between the Breton farmers. They fall roughly into three categories:

1) the big farmers. Thus 7% of the pig farmers own half the production. A small fraction of the farmers are "industrialized", and hold almost a monopoly of production.

2) the medium-sized farmers: they will soon be the greatest number. They are mainly young, they have bought new equipment (land, stock, machines) in order to reach an acceptable income level. But they are up to their necks in debt (to a rate of 98%, some of them). Some will become big farmers, buying up those who leave but others will go bankrupt.

3) the small farmers: they are characterized by small holdings, soilless productions, traditional ways of farming, decreasing incomes. They are condemned to leave.

RESULTS OF THE OCTOBER 10th ELECTION (continued)

They are in 3rd place in 18 constituencies and 6 of these are in Edinburgh.

The coming sessions of parliament will be momentous ones for Scotland, and the S.N.P. could well join with the Liberals to press for a fairer voting system before the next General Election.

M. Denovan

O'BRIEN'S BLUSTER (continued)

Labour Party conference. He demanded a special showing of the programmes and having seen them then demanded an explanation from the station chiefs and programmers. Apparently the programmes were not in accord with O'Brien's censorship policy as dictated by him to R.T.E.

Following this the producers were removed from the programme and some transmissions of the programme were halted due to action by the W.U.I., the producers' union.

IRISH SPEAKERS DISENFRANCHISED ...?

The decision by the Dublin Government to drop the knowledge of Irish as a requirement for entry into and promotion within the Irish Civil Service is being strongly opposed by Conradh na Gaeilge and other organisations. It is seen as a step towards the disenfranchisement of the

Irish speakers in and outside the Gaeltacht and a reaction by the Irish politicians against the principles underlying the establishment of an Irish State.

Ó dtáinig fás an-mhór agus gaimbineacht da réir ar na festoù-nôz, na coirmeacha ceoil agus rinne traidisiúnta tá na heagraíochtaí Briotánacha ag éirí buartha faoin isliú caighdeáin. Mar sin tá iarrachtaí ar siúl aca faoi lathair le eagraíocht a bhunú d'fhonn fiúntas na festoù-nôz a chosaint.

Ag an 11ú Comhdhail den UDB (Union Démocratique Bretonne) rinneadh morán leasuithe ar an pháirtí d'fhonn é a chur an bhonn níos daonfhlaithaí. Bhí thart ar 200 ball i lathair.

Kamp Etrekeltiek ar Vrezhonegerien, held from July 27 to August 10, in Pont-e-Kroaz, was attended by 200 people.

Other "camps" were organised for students of Breton in Menez Kamm (Al Leur Nevez 24 August to 7 September), and Ti Kendalch (18-24 August).

"One of the new Scottish MPs is George Thompson. He was at one time our Scottish branch secretary and editor of our annual volume. We rejoice in his success.

RENEWAL. Members and subscribers, although we still owe you CARN No 8 (to be published in 3 months), we appeal to you to renew your subscription now or very soon. With your support, we shall overcome the difficulties arising from inflation.

CHRISTMAS CARDS are available, 6 for 40p., 50 for £2.50, incl. postage, from Prisoners Aid Committee, 318 Lillie Road, London S.W.6. Proceeds will go to pay for costs of appeal by Irish internees to Strasbourg Court of Human Rights for torture and brutal treatment in N. Ireland.

CORNISH NATION, quarterly journal of Mebyon Kernow, the Cornish National Movement. Examines the Cornish scene today in all its aspects. Works for Celtic unity. Annual subscription 80p (£1 overseas) from M. K. Publications, Trelispen, Gorran, St. Austell, Cornwall.

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Help us to sell CARN by finding booksellers to stock it (5p allowance per copy, sale or return) or by selling copies to friends, at gatherings, or by advertising it in national periodicals.

APPEAL TO CORRESPONDENTS. Postage is now very expensive. Facilitate quick replies by enclosing international 'coupons-responses' for which we can obtain stamps.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO CARN. Space was not available for some of the articles received for CARN 7: we are keeping them for No 8. Apologies to their authors! We invite members to send us material of interest to readers outside their own national area. Try to compress it into texts of 500 or 1,000 words. Make sure these are tidily typed or easily legible to the printers, with double spacing; keep carbon copy; endeavour to express ideas and reports clearly, support your arguments with facts, be precise!



MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS

All who agree with the constitution and aims of the Celtic League are entitled to membership. The membership fee (entitling to CARN) and the subscription rates are now £1.50 for Ireland and Britain; 17F for Brittany and continental Europe in general: £2 (\$5 U.S.) or equivalent for non-European countries (this includes airmailing). For information about the Celtic League, applications for membership, subscriptions, write to any of the secretaries:

Alba : Mrs. M. Denovan, 9 Dalglish Road, Dundee, DD4 7JN.
Cymru : A. ab Osborn, 89 Whitchurch Road, Chester, CH3, 5QX, England.
Assistant secretary: Meic Pattison, Neuadd, John Morris Gones, Ffordd y Colet, Bangor, Arfon, N. Wales.
Breizh : J. Derouet, 9 Avenue de Toledé, 44100 Nantes-en-Bretagne.
Kernow : I. S. Evons, 3a Lemon Villas, Truro, Cornwall.
Eire : C. O Luain, 37 Dun an Oir, Tamhlacht, Co. Atha Cliath.
London : J. Rh. Humphreys, 113 Loveday Road, Ealing, London W.13.
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General Secretary : A Heusaff, 9 Bothar Cnoc Sion, Ath Cliath 9, Eire.

All payments are to be made **to the Celtic League**, if possible by Bankers' Order and sent to the above address, or directly to Allied Irish Banks, 2 Dolphin's Barn, Dublin 8, Eire, (treasurers address not to be used for the moment). When paying through the bank, do **not** indicate **CELTIC LEAGUE on the envelope**, but **inside**. In any case, notify your branch secretary of the payment, to avoid delays in mailing.

Application for membership.

I wish to join the Celtic League and to receive its quarterly CARN. Please send me also a copy of the C.L. Constitution. I enclose £ and (optional) contribution towards C.L. expenses £

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CARN is published by the Celtic League, 9 Br Cnoc Sion, Ath Cliath 9, Eire and printed by Drogheda Printers Ltd., 8 Bolton St., Drogheda. The Editor is Padraig O Snodaigh, 127 Br na Trá, Dumhach Trá Ath Cliath 4, Eire, to whom contributions should be sent. The views expressed by contributors are not necessarily those of the Celtic League. Use of the material in CARN is granted free provided the source is acknowledged.